WILLIAM KUNSTLER NAMES MALCOLM X ASSASSINS!! (Page 6)

the SHADOW

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ISSUE #28

SMASH THE CURFEW

TOMPKINS SQUARE HEATS UP!

BARBARA LEE

DEMONSTRATORS PROTEST EVICTION OF HOMELESS FROM 9TH ST. LOT (Page 4)

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- HAITIAN REFUGEE HUNGER STRIKE
- ALTERNATIVE ZINE + BOOK REVIEWS

EDITORIAL

"IF IT WASN'T FOR US, YOU'D HAVE NOTHING TO WRITE ABOUT"
--(Chief Hoehl to SHADOW editor)

FEDS GO WACKO IN WACO

By now we've all heard about the events at Branch Davidian ranch in Waco, Texas. What led to the massacre of approximately 90 people by the federal government?

Apparently, the feds were tipped off in June of 1992 by a sheriff who was tipped off by a UPS driver who said he suspected that he had just delivered weapons to the Davidian group's ranch (named, appropriately enough, "Ranch Apocalypse"), though this same driver had been making similar deliveries to the ranch for several years.

On February 28, approximately 100 heavily armed agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) raided the ranch, claiming that they were executing a search warrant for weapons. Four ATF agents and an undetermined number of church members were killed when the ranch residents defended themselves against the armed invaders.

ATF members cried to the press, saying "we were out-gunned." They retreated and surrounded the ranch, beginning a stand-off that would last 51 days. Later that day, as an ATF spokesman repeatedly told assembled newsmedia that they never fire without seeing a clear target, video footage being played back simultaneously on public television's MacNeil-Lehrer report showed four ATF agents climbing one of the ranch's lower roofs with a ladder. They were seen firing multiple shots into a window covered by a dark shade, where there was obviously no clear target. The ATFers were then seen climbing into the window, one after another. By the time the fourth one approached the window, bullets were seen flying through the walls and window, coming from inside the house. The fourth agent, struck in the head, quickly slid down the ladder and escaped. Most likely, the three inside got killed.

The ATF was replaced ("relieved," they said) by the FBI, which had water and electricity to the ranch cut off. This did not do them much good, since church members had stockpiles of food and a well for water. In the meantime, the feds, with help from the media, began their terrorist tactics against the church group. The church was labelled a "cult," the group's organizer David Koresh became a "cult leader" and its members became "cultists," while the ranch became a "compound."

As the weeks passed without the successful arrest and removal of the church group, the feds claimed they were holding back out of concern for church members' children, alleging that they had been sexually and physically abused by Koresh and other church members. At one point, they said that some church members were being held against their will. The feds then showed their concern for the children's welfare by blasting loud music at the ranch 24 hours a day (including Nancy Sinatra's "These Boots Are Made For Walking"). The media readily went along with the demonizing, planting the idea in the public's mind that the poor feds were dealing with some really crazy armed cult that had to be stopped.

By April 19, the feds suddenly decided they had to make their move. At 5:30AM, they violated their own guidelines of waiting out suspects who are barricaded in a building, with or without hostages. Further demonstrating their concern for the children, they used a tank to punch holes into several walls and pumped CS tear gas into the ranch houses. (The U.S. was a signatory to an international treaty banning the use of CS tear gas).

News videos showed a plume of dark smoke rising immediately after a tank hit one of the walls. Fires then broke out in several locations throughout the ranch complex. Fed by 30-40 mph winds, the flames spread rapidly as the feds stood by and watched. Nine church members were able to escape the fire, which consumed the complex and killed over 80 people inside, including the children. An hour later, fire trucks arrived to hose the smoldering remains.

Immediately, the FBI tried to cover its tracks, claiming that church members had started the fires themselves. FBI spokesman Bob Ricks tried to blame the fire on the church members, claiming that no gas was used to start the fire, and that there were fires in three separate locations. He then said "we put massive gas in there. They had to make the decision to face the charges or commit suicide."

Coincidentally, as the Davidian ranch burned, president Clinton was touring the newly-opened Holocaust Museum in Washington. His head of the Justice Department, Janet Reno, justified the raid and tear gas by saying "we had reports they were slapping the children around in there."

Continued on Next Page

WHERE THE FUCK HAS THE SHADOW BEEN?

Shortly after our last issue in October, a number of things caused us to halt production for a while. One was that we ran out of money (you probably thought all those warnings were bullshit!!) Another was that the activist scene here seemed to have suddenly died. And about that time, we felt that we needed to take a break for a while.

As the new year began, things started heating up here just as we began receiving donations from supporters and orders for our publications, which helped to improve our money situation. (Special thanks to Carol of Florida!!) We started gearing up production at the end of February for an early March printing, but then we got hit by the "Michaelangelo Virus" which we got through a contaminated floppy disk!!

Having recovered from the virus damage, we now plan to publish at least every 1½ to 2 months, but no later than three months if news is slow. As a result, we have now changed our subscription and advertising rates--they are now lower than before.

Though we are financially able to publish regularly again, (we are always in the red, but not so deeply at the moment), we still need our readers' support in the form of subscriptions, mail orders, and of course, donations!!

Remember what the underground press is all about. We seek to expose the scum of the planet and inform our readers about it, until it hurts. That's it!! We are not owned/controlled by corporate/government/political groups, and we don't make any money doing this. Unlike rags put out by phony front groups like the RCP, SWP + WWP that require their dues paying members to buy and sell their party "news"papers (that contain no real "news" at all) for them for a hefty $1.00 each, the SHADOW has been supported only by our readers since we started publishing in 1989. That is what really keeps us going!!

WHY HASN'T THE SHADOW RESPONDED TO MY MAIL?

Since our last issue, we have been getting tons of mail every day, more than we could respond to as quickly as we would like to. Unfortunately, while we weren't publishing, we let the mail pile up. Just as we got everything up to date and entered in our mail file, we got hit by the "Michaelangelo Virus" in early March.

As a result of the virus, we lost many articles that were saved on hard drives and we temporarily lost our entire mailing list containing more than 800 names and addresses. Luckily, our computer freak buddies were able to restore almost all of the list, which we have sinced backed up three times and now store off-premises on virus-free disks and they repaired most of the damage. (We now have all sorts of virus detectors, protectors, and destructors so it can't happen again.)

As we were restoring the entries on the new mail file format we created, we discovered that many had data missing after their names. We either don't have their complete addresses or why they wrote or what they sent us. (None of these people sent us money, since that mail goes into a separate pile.) So, if you sent us anything between February and the middle of March and never heard from us, or if you are among the people listed below, please write again so we can get you back on our mailing list. (We are purposely using initials instead of last names and the point of origin is in parenthesis):

Mark T. (24701)
Tim A. (47957)
Naked Aggression (60106)
???? (BULGARIA)
Brian D. (Canada)
D.T., (Canada)
Earth First, (Canada)
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For Kannedom (Sweden)
Isolera Iran Kommittee (Sweden)
Dennis G. (CA)
Peace + Freedom Party (CA)
Richard W. (CA)
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J.A. (MI)
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Burt G. (NY)
Julia B. (NY)
Trudy S. (NY)
Steve G. (OH)
Warren H. (PA)
Jack M. (VA)
Tom W. (VA)

If you have already ordered a one year subscription, by either bulk rate or first class, you'll notice that instead of an expiration date on your mailing label we have put an issue number. This way you will get the number of issues that you paid for, by issue number rather than by the year.

We are working on responding to all of our mail on a daily basis, with paid mail orders getting priority, so please bear with us if you haven't heard from us yet. Once we're caught up, we'll stay that way!!

Full Blown Idiots, Waco, Texas
WE MOVED IN BECAUSE WE WANTED TO STOP THE CHILDREN FROM BEING ABUSED.
WE MOVED IN AND THE PLACE CAUGHT ON FIRE AND ALL THE CHILDREN WERE BURNED ALIVE.
TOO BAD WE COULDN'T SAVE THOSE CHILDREN
AT LEAST WE STOPPED THE CHILD ABUSE.
FBI
COSMO '93

SHADOW UPDATES:

KENNY TOLIA IS FREE!!

Kenny Tolia, the only defendant in the May Day 29 case to receive any jail time is now a free man, now living in the city with his wife. The case stemmed from yet another riot started by pigs in Tompkins Square, on May 1, 1990, during a concert in the park. Kenny, one of the organizers, was charged with inciting a riot when he had only been dancing with everyone else at the moment the pigs rushed the stage. **(See SHADOWs #11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21 + 23 for the full story).**

Judge Richard C. Failla, New York City's first openly gay Supreme Court Justice, who heard the case, isn't doing as well. Announcing before the May Day trial was even concluded that he planned to give maximum sentences to any defendant found guilty, he made good on his threat after all were found not guilty, except Kenny, after the 3½ month trial. Though Kenny had no previous convictions, had a steady job, and had roots in the community, Judge Failla gave Kenny the most time he could: one year in jail, starting April 6, 1992. Luckily, Kenny was able to get on a work release program, which allowed him to keep his job and support his family during the day while returning to jail at night.

Judge Failla's karma came back to him just over one year later, on April 11, when he died of AIDS in St. Luke's Hospital at the age of 53.

THE POPE IS FREE!!

Pope Mickey Cesar, better known as the Pope Of Pot of the Church of Realized Fantasies that used marijuana as its holy sacrament, was finally released after spending more than two years in various jails. He had been busted on two occasions for possession and sale of marijuana. **(See SHADOW #15 for more details).** After urine appeared in his blood for months, his jailers refused him diagnosis and treatment by an outside hospital. Eventually, he was diagnosed with cancer of the kidney, but by that time it had spread to his lungs and bone marrow. Poor prison food and treatment made the Pope become insulin dependent. Doctors gave him six months to live, but the six months has already passed.

Since Pope Mickey's release on parole in March, he has refused to submit to piss tests to check for marijuana consumption. This has almost resulted in his being returned to jail.

On April 13, a benefit concert was held for the Pope, featuring Dean and the Weenies, David Peel and Moogy Klingman, among others. The Pope was greeted by his many fans and supporters, all of whom missed his unique presence in the scene. Even though the bar's management didn't want it, a lot of pot was smoked freely!!

If you would like to write to the Pope, you can send your letters in care of the SHADOW. (We wish we could say that the Pope's judge and prosecutors were dead too!!)

GRADY ALEXIS' MURDERERS GET OFF!!

One of two men responsible for the beating death of Lower East Side artist Grady Alexis finally went on trial on March 15. On May 4, 1991, Terry Presley and his friend, P.O. Richard Frazier, a professional boxer, beat Grady and his friends after they loudly protested the dangerous way that Presley and Frazier were driving their vehicles past them. Grady died on the spot as a result of the beating. **(See SHADOWs #18 + 22, 24 + 25 for more info).**

Frazier was only charged with assaulting Grady's friends, despite four witnesses who told the District Attorney's office that he joined Presley in hitting Grady several times. There was also a report that Grady had been pushed into a moving taxi. Frazier had indictments against him dismissed twice, while only Presley went on trial for assault rather than murder. Presley chose a judge trial rather than a trial by jury which would more than likely have convicted him.

The ADA trying the case emphasized that one punch knocked Grady to the ground and that his death was a fluke. In fact, the city's Medical Examiner's office confirmed witness reports that Grady had been hit more than once.

When it was over, Presley was convicted of misdemeanor assault, the least serious version of the charge.

According to activist attorney Ron Kuby, who was requested by Grady's friends and family to try to insure a serious prosecution of Grady's murderers, "the overall problem with the case was that the D.A.'s office never sought felony charges. They treated the beating of a black man as less serious than selling a bag of pot or running a gaming establishment."

Sentencing has been set for May 6 in Judge Bruce Allen's court at 111 Centre Street, Part 81, at 9:30 AM. All those concerned with yet another case of unpunished police violence and murder should make it a point to be there.

FEDS GO WACKO IN WACO!!

Before the remains of the ranch had even cooled off, the always co-operative media quickly released the results of a poll conducted by CNN, USA Today and Gallup Polls, which said that a majority of Americans blame the fire on David Koresh and feel that the FBI acted responsibly. This comes from the same media that helped form the opinions for those polled.

Directly contradicting the feds' claims, survivors of the fire consistently told reporters that the fires were started when lanterns that were hanging on walls for light (remember that the electricity was cut off) were knocked to the floor when the tank rammed the walls. The flaming kerosene also spread to bales of hay that were blocking windows and spread rapidly from there. There was hardly enough time for the survivors to co-ordinate a cover story before escaping the flames. Considering what the Davidians had just been through on February 28, it is not surprising that more members did not run into the arms of waiting feds as their complex burned. For the record, the three fires did not start simultaneously in three locations as feds claimed. Each began after the tank hit a different part of the complex.

Whatever else David Koresh's Branch Davidians were, whether they believed that their god is in heaven, or in a piece of swiss cheese, they had every right to their religious beliefs, as do Catholics, Jews and Mormons. The Davidians were religious fundamentalists who believed in the coming apocalypse. Little did they know that the federal government would fulfill their prophesy for them--or maybe they did know.

Why the raid? The ATF says it wanted to search the place for weapons that infiltrators had alerted them to. After the massacre, Koresh's lawyer, Dick DeGuerin, who had access to the ATF's search warrant, said that the warrant authorized a search for five pieces of machinery about the size of a half dollar. Were 100 heavily armed agents required for this search? With over 100 people inside the complex, including children and elderly women, the Davidians had every right to defend themselves against the armed invaders.

Why did the Davidians have weapons? As DeGuerin explained, they had apocalyptic visions similar to those of 7th Day Adventists. The isolated Davidian ranch was approximately 100 miles from town, so they were justified in having weapons for self defense, at the very least. Considering their distance from the town, they were not posing a threat to anyone, except an assault force attacking them!!

What was really behind the raid? The ATF, which has been the subject of several sexual harrassment lawsuits by female members, got caught with their pants down as the World Trade Center blew up, just before their ill-fated Davidian raid. It has been rumored that they are going to be phased out as obsolete. Who needs a fully-equipped paramilitary government agency to oversee alcohol (Kentucky moonshiners? Bootleggers?), tobacco (Indians who grow their own? Cigarette smugglers?), and firearms (gun control?)? They've already failed in all three areas, which should not be under the domain of the federal government anyway!!

No matter what the feds told the media, they had many other reasons for the raid, some of which we will never know. (Koresh had said he wanted to surrender so that he could tell the truth about the raid). Some factors behind the raid include:

1. Morale and reputation booster--trying to justify the ATF and FBI's existence.
2. Psychological operations/testing public limits--using semantics and labels to demonize and dehumanize targetted group to gain public acceptance. Once accepted by the public, they see how far they can go and can do the same to other targetted groups.
3. Testing deployment of troops, weapons and tactics--there is nothing like practical application to improve and refine methods of assault.
4. Gaining a precedent--demonstration that feds will go to any lengths to attack perceived enemies, confiscate weapons, contraband, etc. Using this experience to push demands for gun control, tougher laws and inflated budgets for ATF and FBI.

Make no mistake about it. The feds will use all weapons at their disposal (weapons and media control) to destroy whatever or whoever they want. If anyone thinks this is an isolated incident, just remember that they did the same to the MOVE commune in Philadelphia. The only difference is that the pigs had no problem killing little black children immediately, instead of waiting 51 days!!

GOVERNMENT CONTROL, NOT GUN CONTROL!!

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PIGS RAID HOMELESS IN 9th ST. LOT

By Chris Flash

In yet another attack against the homeless by the Dinkins Administration, about 20 residents of the 9th Street lot were awakened on February 16 at daybreak by scores of riot pigs who informed them that they had "12 minutes" to gather their belongings and leave.

Since most had been living in the lot for months, many were unable to comply with the pigs' demands in such short time. They were then physically removed as their makeshift shelters and possessions were quickly destroyed by a waiting bulldozer. Pigs arrested an old man and a resident named Julius, who is well known for the many dogs he keeps. He was committed to the psychiatric ward of Belleview Hospital after his dogs were shot with tranquilizer guns and taken away. Apparently, one of the dogs was so frightened by the raiding pigs that he bit one.

The lot, located on the block between 8th and 9th Streets and Avenues B and C, has been used by homeless persons for many years, going through a series of occasional sweeps, with the homeless always returning afterward out of necessity. They were most recently evicted when homeless residents of "Dinkinsville," on a lot a block away were also evicted, on October 15, 1992. (See SHADOW #20)

Almost immediately after the latest raid, the mayor's office jumped into damage control. Mayor Dinkins' lackey Michael Kharfen (head of the misnamed "Community Assistance Unit") told the media that the lot was being prepared for 56 units of low-income housing and a new police station. In fact, the SHADOW has obtained a copy of the plans for the site, which reveal only a small police station with a huge parking lot surrounding it. The building will be occupied by Housing Police, and it is suspected that its presence may facilitate future evictions of people squatting nearby city-owned buildings. (No one from the press bothered to ask why they were breaking ground in the middle of a sleet storm with snow on the ground!!)

Kharfen further bullshitted the press, telling them that the lot residents were given a day's notice and that "outreach personnel" had visited the lot over the past "several months" to prepare the homeless for their removal. In fact, after the eviction, the only offer made to the homeless was the usual free ride to one of the city's dangerous shelters, which was quickly turned down, for obvious reasons.

DEMONSTRATORS HIT BACK

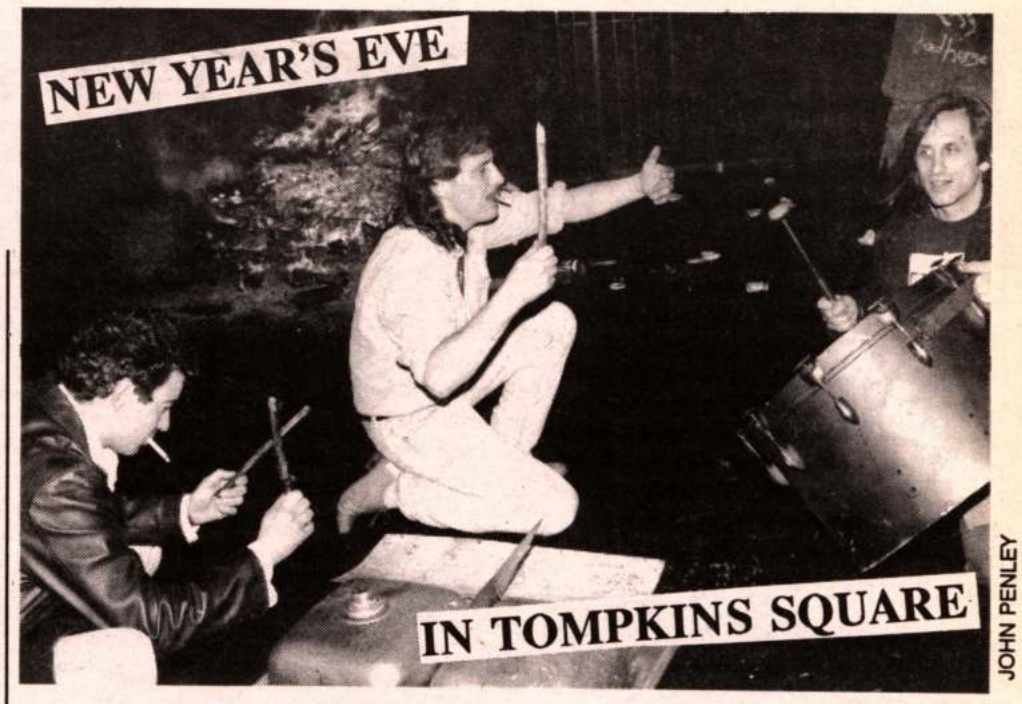
Four days later, on the night of February 20, more than 50 people gathered in the lot to protest the pig raid. In spite of the very cold weather and the efforts of two pigs who tried but failed to chase them away, they soon began a metal jam as a bonfire raged nearby. After a while, the pigs returned with the fire department, which put the fire out. The fire was quickly relit, using police line barriers as fuel while kops stood by watching the demonstrators dancing, jumping through the flames and banging metal. As the night wore on, more riot pigs arrived and stood by waiting for orders as undercover pigs mingled with demonstrators.

Fire trucks returned to douse the fire again, but this only resulted in several fires being built to replace it. People then took to the hills of dirt created after the eviction, slamming metal and dancing around fires on each hill. The pigs claimed that the fires would spread to adjacent buildings and threatened to make arrests, but no one stopped.

At around midnight, the pigs made their move. Dozens of pigs appeared from behind buildings on 9th Street where they had been hiding. They tried to run up the hills to grab people, but some pigs slipped and rolled to the ground. In the end, 8 people were arrested, including a woman who pigs roughed up. All were put through the system for 24 hours. Later that night, people returned to rekindle a fire.

Four days later, the bulldozer used to plow over the homeless squatter shacks was vandalized, blown up and had to be hauled away on a flatbed truck. A week after that, fence posts which were put up around the site disappeared, apparently hacked off with a hacksaw. Surveyor's markings were also altered, forcing HPD to have the lot re-surveyed.

As of this writing, no additional work has been done at the lot other than a fence built around it, and there is no word on where the homeless have gone.



JOHN PENLEY

Just when the pigs thought the neighborhood was safe for gentrification, on New Year's Eve the spirit of Tompkins Square once again erupted with a metal jam and curfew protest.

Beginning inside the park at about 11:00PM with a small group of people drumming on various items, the metal jam grew to about 100 people at the St. Marx entrance of the park, slamming metal, sheets of corrugated steel, bottles, cans and other objects. Activists, musicians, New Year's celebrators, and even yuppies joined together to make a unique tribal beat. Soon, a bon fire was lit, fed mostly by x-mas trees left on sidewalks.

By the time the midnight curfew arrived, there were too many people for the small detail of cops to handle, so the jam went on. Cops were caught with their pants down since the jam was advertised by word of mouth instead of posters that cops could see. Also, most cops in the city were assigned to Times Square for the night.

The metal jam went on until about 1:00AM, until riot pig reinforcements arrived. They managed to arrest only 12 people, most of whom were activists always selectively arrested at demos, charging most with "disorderly conduct." Everyone else just blended into the crowd, leaving the cops looking as fascistic and inept as always.

JOHN PENLEY

BARBARA LEE.

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HPD & CB3'S REAL ESTATE GIVEAWAY

By A. Kronstadt

The right-wing clique which now dominates Community Board 3 is currently scheming to sell over one hundred thousand square feet of open space in the Lower East Side to private developers for "market-rate" (a.k.a. luxury) housing. The Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD, better known as the Department of Housing Prevention and Destruction), has asked CB3 to okay their plan to sell 22 lots earmarked for market-rate construction under the "Cross-Subsidy Plan."

As **SHADOW** readers may remember, the "Double-Cross Subsidy Plan" (or "50/50 Plan") was a compromise foisted on this under-housed community during the 1980's. The "plan" was supposed to involve the rehabilitation of 1000 units of low-income housing which would be financed through the sale of city-owned land to private developers. These developers would then be able to build 1000 units of luxury housing on that property. The deal was finalized in 1987, just in time for the great stock market crash, and subsequent real estate slump, which severely dislocated the New York City real estate market. Consequently, only one lot was sold and little was heard about the plan until this year. The city now claims that 780 units of low-income housing have been built and it is now time for the Lower East Side to pay the piper.

The 22 lots which HPD wants to sell are all over 5,000 square feet in area. The city describes them as "vacant" lots, *while in fact many of them contain community gardens, art projects, and shacks occupied by squatters.* Though it is called the 50/50 Plan because the number of units of market-rate housing are supposed to equal the number of units of low-income housing, the land area being requisitioned for the 1000 units of market-rate housing is far greater than that on which the low-income housing resides. The people who will be buying or renting this property, no doubt, require much more closet space than the poor who occupy the low-income apartments.

CB3 did not vote HPD a blank check to sell the 22 parcels of land. The original request by HPD that the community board vote to approve all 22 lots as housing sites went through a series of rewritings and amendments in both the Housing Committee and the full board and ended with much more nebulous language. The board agreed to approve the lots as "potential" housing sites, and to "support the community gardens until all other sites have been used." Most members of CB3 interpret "community gardens" as meaning only those five sites which have Operation Green Thumb leases, even though there are no less than fifteen gardens on the 22 lots. Community Board 3 does not have any real power to veto the sale of the land, having only an advisory role. HPD wants approval from the community board mostly to create the impression that the "community" supports the "Double-Cross Subsidy Plan."

However, the gentrifier faction on CB3, consisting, among others, of Luis Soler, Steven Vincent, Susan Vaughn, and local landlord Krystyna Piorkowska, appears to be committed to the sale of the lots immediately, if not sooner. These four individuals are members of CB3's Housing Committee and also comprise the Negotiating Team, whose job it is to negotiate with HPD over the details of the sale of the properties. With the exception of Piorkowska, who was appointed to CB3 by City Council President and mayoral hopeful Andrew Stein (nee Finkelstein), they are all appointees of Antonio Pagan, the right-wing City Councilcreature elected in 1991 after winning the Democratic Primary by a margin of less than 100 votes (and that only after the district was rewritten and gerrymandered to include part of the Gramercy Park silk-stocking district). Pagan's campaign was supported by local landlords like Piorkowska (owner of 114-116 East 7th Street, who is also a member of the anti-rent regulation lobby, Small Property Owners of New York), and by the New York Post, then owned by mega-landlord-scum Peter Kalikow, whose family members owned properties surrounding Tompkins Square Park. The Pagan-droids on CB3 will have ample opportunity to develop intimate relations with some of New York's biggest real-estate wheeler-dealers during the disposition of this property. As "representatives of the community" they will no doubt be treated with kid gloves and given the opportunity to wet their beaks in the lucrative deals that will take shape.

While the real-estate market is currently in even worse shape than it was in 1987, this land sell-off may give speculators a chance to get their shit together for the next building boom. HPD has announced that it is getting out of the housing business (of course, this raises the question of what they are good for) and may be willing to dispose of this land at bargain-basement rates. Some of the property, including two huge parking lots on Avenue A, as well as the current site of the 6th & B Garden, are zoned for large buildings. Builders may buy up property at recession prices and assemble sites for monstrous 21st century developments which will change the character of the Lower East Side beyond recognition. Paving the way for this, the Mayor's Committee for the Year 2000, a blue-ribbon panel of city planning bureaucrats and real estate moguls, published a report in 1987 which called on developers to "fill the valley" between midtown and Wall Street with tall buildings by the beginning of the 21st century.

It remains to be seen how the people of the Lower East Side will respond to this proposed sell-off of all their open space. The protection offered by CB3's pledge to "support the community gardens" is minimal, but seems to have diffused much of the opposition from the community gardeners and from groups like the Green Guerrillas. Only a fraction of La Plaza Cultural, a heavily-used community park at East 9th Street and Avenue C is protected by the gardens pledge; the entire playground area is fair game for developers. Supporters of La Plaza have pulled together in the past to stop development on that site, and it is in the interests of the pro-real estate faction on CB3 to compromise with the "reasonable" gardeners and La Plaza supporters--graciously allowing them to keep part of their little patch of green in exchange for letting developers build the Tower of Babel next door without interference. It may be left to the diehard opponents of development in the Lower East Side--those of us who refuse to define "progress" as an increase in the size of the buildings around us--to stand up to the real estate moguls and defend our urban environment.

Only a handful of people have stood up so far. Squatter Mike Shenker was busted at the February CB3 meeting for tossing Pagan-droid CB3 chairman Soler's gavel to the floor and writing "Bullshit" on the blackboard. At that same meeting, activist Eric Rassi spoke at the public session, pointing out that the presence of "market-rate" housing in a neighborhood drives the rents up all around, displacing the poor and increasing the rate of homelessness. On the evening of February 20, members of the Lower East Side's counter-culture built fires and banged metal on the vast lot on 9th Street and Avenue C which is slated as the future site of a Housing Police station which will separate the Avenue D projects from the rest of the neighborhood and thus drive up the value of any "market-rate" housing built in the area. While this type of resistance is encouraging, it will take massive community opposition to block the sell-off of the neighborhood's open space by a morally bankrupt "housing" bureaucracy which creates more homelessness than housing.

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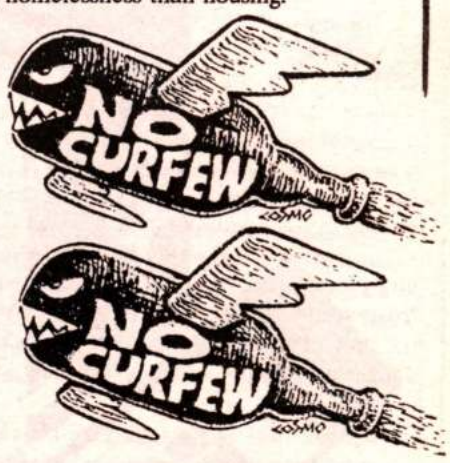

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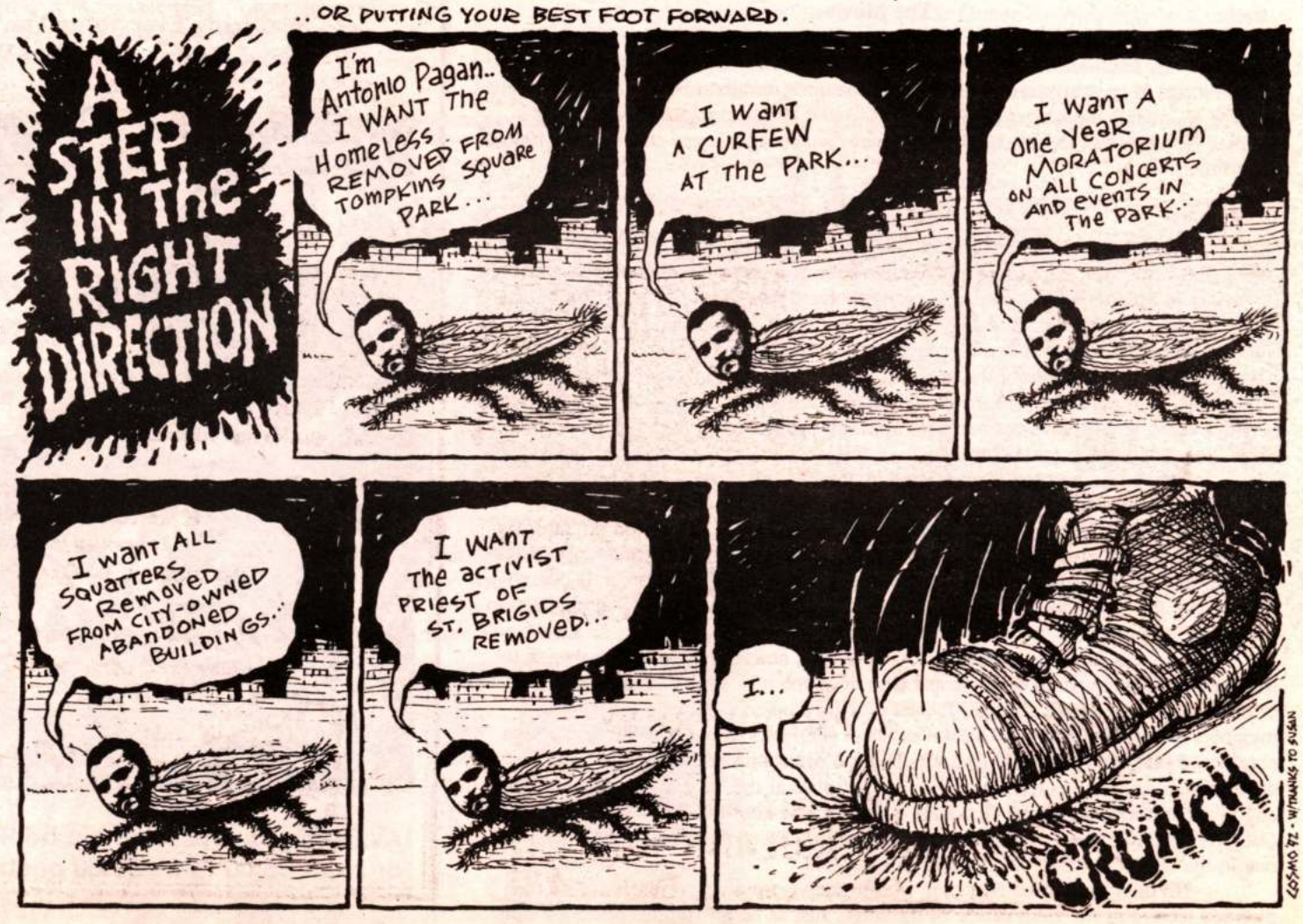
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THE REAL MURDERERS OF MALCOM X

Exclusive SHADOW Report

By William M. Kunstler

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SCOTT CUNNINGHAM

The Movie

The cast credits to Spike Lee's "Malcolm X" list Ben Thomas, William X, Wilbur Kinley, Leon Davis, and Thomas Hagen as the men who, on February 21, 1965, shot Malcolm X to death on the stage of Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom. Significantly, they fail to include the names of Norman 3X Butler (Muhammad Abdul Aziz) and Thomas 15X Johnson (Khalil Islam), who, along with Hagan, were convicted in 1966 of the crime.

The Assassination

Shortly before 2:00 o'clock on the day of his death, Malcolm X, then known as Alhaji Malik Shabazz, parked his 1963 Oldsmobile at a meter at 146th Street and Broadway in Manhattan and waited for a northbound bus. When a car, driven by Fred Williams, a recent convert to Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) who was to be initiated that very Sunday, stopped and he was offered a ride to the Audubon Ballroom, the site of the organization's weekly meetings, he readily accepted. Williams let him off in front of the Audubon's main entrance on 166th Street between Broadway and St. Nicholas Avenue, and Malcolm proceeded to the dressing room behind the stage of the main ballroom.

Because he had just been evicted by the Nation of Islam (NOI) from the house it had provided for him in East Elmhurst, Queens, and which had been firebombed a week earlier, Malcolm had stayed at the New York Hilton on Saturday night, checking out at noon Sunday. The preceding Thursday, he had announced to an interviewer that "I live like a man who's already dead. I'm a marked man. It doesn't frighten me for myself as long as I felt they would not hurt my family." An application by him for a gun permit, he said, was still pending at the 28th Precinct.

At about 2:30 p.m., Benjamin X Goodman, now Benjamin Karim, began to warm up the four hundred or so people who filled the neat rows of camp chairs in front of the stage. As he spoke, his eyes flicked over the audience, looking for fellow members of Mosque Number 7's Fruit of Islam (FOI), its strong-arm force, as it was considered that they posed the greatest threat to Malcolm's life. Since the latter had decreed that no one was to be searched for weapons at the door, it was thought that any FOI members spotted by Goodman could then be kept under the watchful eyes of OAAU's security people. When Brother Benjamin finished speaking, he had seen no one in the ballroom whom he could identify as FOI.

He then introduced Malcolm, who strode vigorously from the wings to the plywood lectern at the front center of the stage. Just as he greeted his audience with the traditional "Salaam Aleikum, brothers and sisters," a man in the rear rose from his seat and shouted, "What are you doing with your hand in my pocket!" to someone sitting beside him. Malcolm's two bodyguards, who were in front of the stage, moved at once toward the area of the disturbance while he pleaded with the audience to "Hold it, take it easy."

With everyone's attention diverted away from the stage, a man seated in the first row stood up and emptied both barrels of a sawed-off shotgun at Malcolm from a distance of some fifteen feet. The blasts of the weapon struck him full in the chest. As he raised his arms to that portion of his body, he fell prostrate upon his back, behind the lectern, which was now riddled with pellet holes. As the noise of the weapon's discharge reverberated around the room, Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's pregnant wife, screamed, as she threw her four children to the floor, "They're killing my husband!"

Just as the man with the shotgun began firing, a crude smoke bomb went off in the back of the room. While Ronald B. Wallace, an OAUU member, tried to extinguish it, two other men, who had also been seated in the front rows, raced toward the stage and began to fire their handguns, a .45 calibar automatic and a German Luger, at their victim's prone body. After getting off some ten shots, they dashed toward the rear exit of the room, followed by enraged membes of the audience, one of whom, Reuben Francis, shot the fleeing twenty-two-year old Thomas Hagan, also known as Talmadge Hayer, in the thigh.

Hagan, limping badly because of his wound, managed to get to the stairway leading to the street and then onto the pavement before his pursuers caught up with him. As they started to beat him, breaking his left leg and bloodying his face, a 34th Precinct marked radio car, driven by Sgt. Alvin Aronoff, drove up. Aronoff and his partner, Louis Angelo, rescued Hagan fron the infuriated mob. "When we got there," Aronoff later said to a reporter, "the crowds were pushing out and screaming, 'Malcolm's been shot!' and 'get 'im, get 'im, don't let 'im go!'"

As the police vehicle pulled away, Ronald Timberlake, another OAAU member, picked up the .45 on the stairway. He later turned it over, after it had been disassembled, to John C. Sullivan, an FBI agent. During the trip to Jewish Memorial Hospital, Aronoff removed a magazine containing four .45 cartridges from his prisoner's pocket. After Hayer's wound had been treated, he was removed to Bellvue Hospital's prison ward.

Ballistic experts later determined that the bullets in that magazine had once been placed in and extracted from the .45 automatic. In addition, shells removed from Malcolm's body were indisputably shown to have been fired from this weapon. Hagan's fingerprints were found on a strip of film which formed part of the contents of the home-made gasoline-soaked smoke bomb which had been extinguished by Ronald Wallace.

The sawed-off shotgun, which, wrapped in a man's green jakcet, had been found behind the stage, bore no identifiable fingerprints, and contained two spent 12-gauge shells in its barrels. Metal pellets later removed from Malcolm's body were found to be of the identical type once contained in the spent shells. Various other metal fragments were also recovered, indicating that Malcolm had also been shot with a German Luger, a weapon that was never recovered.

As Malcolm lay dying on the Audubon stage, Gene Roberts, an undercover police officer serving as one of his bodyguards and known to OAAU members as "Brother Jean," gave him mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. It was soon obvious that no person could possibly have survived the blasts from the shotgun, the .45, and the Luger, and Roberts soon stopped his ministrations. Within minutes, Malcolm was placed on a

Continued On Page 8

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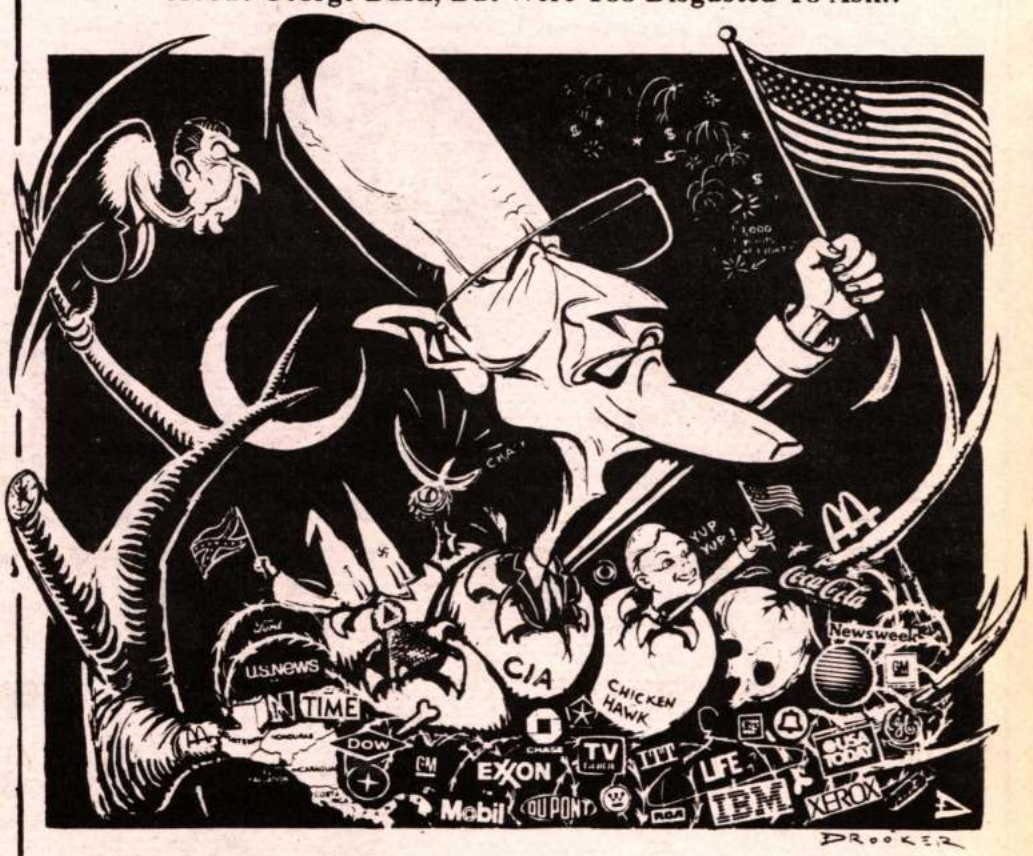

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LESSONS OF PAN AM 103 + THE WORLD TRADE CENTER DISASTER

By Paul DeRienzo

The tragic bombing of the World Trade Center illustrates the power of the media in shaping perceptions of Americans in a way detrimental to the human and civil rights of minority and immigrant populations outside the political and social mainstream. One doesn't have to look very far to see the blame for similar acts placed not on those responsible but on those the media have decided are the villains of the month.

One of the most infamous examples of political blame placing occurred on the night of December 21, 1988, when Pan Am flight 103 was downed by an explosive device that claimed 270 lives. Evidence presented in **Time Magazine** pointed to rogue intelligence assets linked to Lt. Col. Oliver North and heroin traffickers associated with the Syrian government.

The investigators looking into the Pan Am bombing ignored evidence that a suitcase allowed to pass through German customs at the Frankfurt airport by an agreement with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration as part of a narcotics investigation may have contained the bomb. According to **Time**, which based its report largely on an investigation by self-styled former Israeli Mossad agent and security expert Juval Aviv, the DEA was allowing the importation of Lebanese heroin as part of a sting operation designed to arrest traffickers operating in the United States. The heroin was reportedly supplied by a principal in the Iran Contra affair, Monzer al-Kassar, a Syrian with connections to that country's intelligence operations, the DEA and Iran Contra actors Richard Secord and Oliver North.

Instead of pursuing the investigation into Syrian ties to the bombing, Scotland Yard and U.S. authorities cast the blame on Libyan nationals based on circumstantial evidence, tracing the shredded remains of clothing in a suitcase believed by the forensic experts to have carried the bomb to a clothing store in Malta allegedly frequented by one of the Libyan suspects.

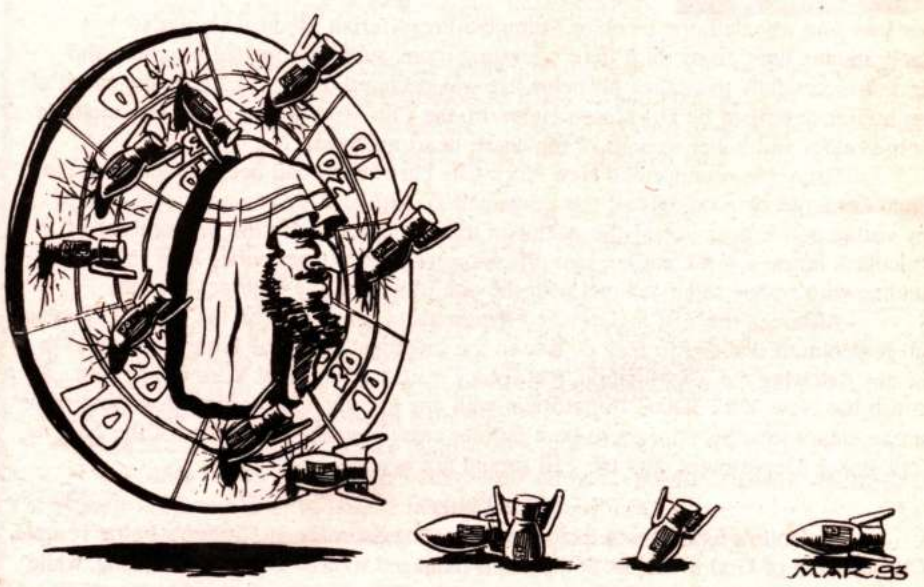
The motive of the United States in shifting blame from Syria to Libya has remained unclear. Speculation includes the possibility that the United States has been working hard to wean Syria from its long standing alliance with the former Soviet Union and was unwilling to cast the shadow of negative publicity on the country by publicly linking it to the bombing of Pan Am 103. Libya, on the other hand, has remained a political thorn in the side of U.S. foreign policy since Moammar al-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader, survived a 1986 bombing attack by U.S. jets that killed his adopted daughter. The thinking is that while Libya might have the motive, it really didn't have the capability of piercing stiff airport security at Frankfurt Airport to launch the sophisticated attack without assistance.

The conflicting evidence in the case is compounded by the possible agenda of Juval Aviv, who may himself be representing interests in Israel aligned against U.S. overtures to Syria. The message sent by the complexities inherent in any investigation into a terrorist attack is that one must remain skeptical of any allegations. The Pan Am 103 bombing was investigated for more than two years before a perpetrator was named and even then numerous unanswered questions remained. The bombing of the World Trade Center is no different. The pressure on investigators to name a culprit in the attack is tremendous and the temptation to place the blame on an easily identified enemy such as so-called "muslim fundamentalists" should be obvious.

In the case of the World Trade Center bombing, the media has played a central role in casting the web of conspiracy on the basis of sparse facts. The dust had barely settled when unsupported speculation was being reported as fact, naming Serbs, Croatians, Bosnian muslims, and finally Muslim emigres as the perpetrators of the World Trade Center bombing. Before the FBI had even reached the bottom of the crater caused by the blast, the media was churning out scenarios including multiple cars and trucks, plastic explosives, then fertilizer bombs. Eventually the media postulated that the stench emanating from the blast area was the decomposing corpse of a bomber killed in his own explosion.

When the FBI announced the arrest of Mohammed Salameh as the person who rented the van allegedly used in the blast, the establishment media went on a feeding frenzy with smears aimed at Muslims, creating huge conspiracies out of thin air. It seemed the more that FBI spokesperson James Fox used the words "no comment," the more stories appeared on Muslim fundamentalism's alleged threat to world order.

The discovery of what the media claims are forged Nicaraguan passports in the apartment of Ibrahim Elgabrowny, an activist who worked closely with attorneys for El Sayyid Nosair, the man acquitted in the assassination of radical right wing Jewish leader Meir Kahane, has now brought charges in the press that the Sandinistas had some role in the blast. All these charges remain totally unsupported speculation reported as news in major media outlets.



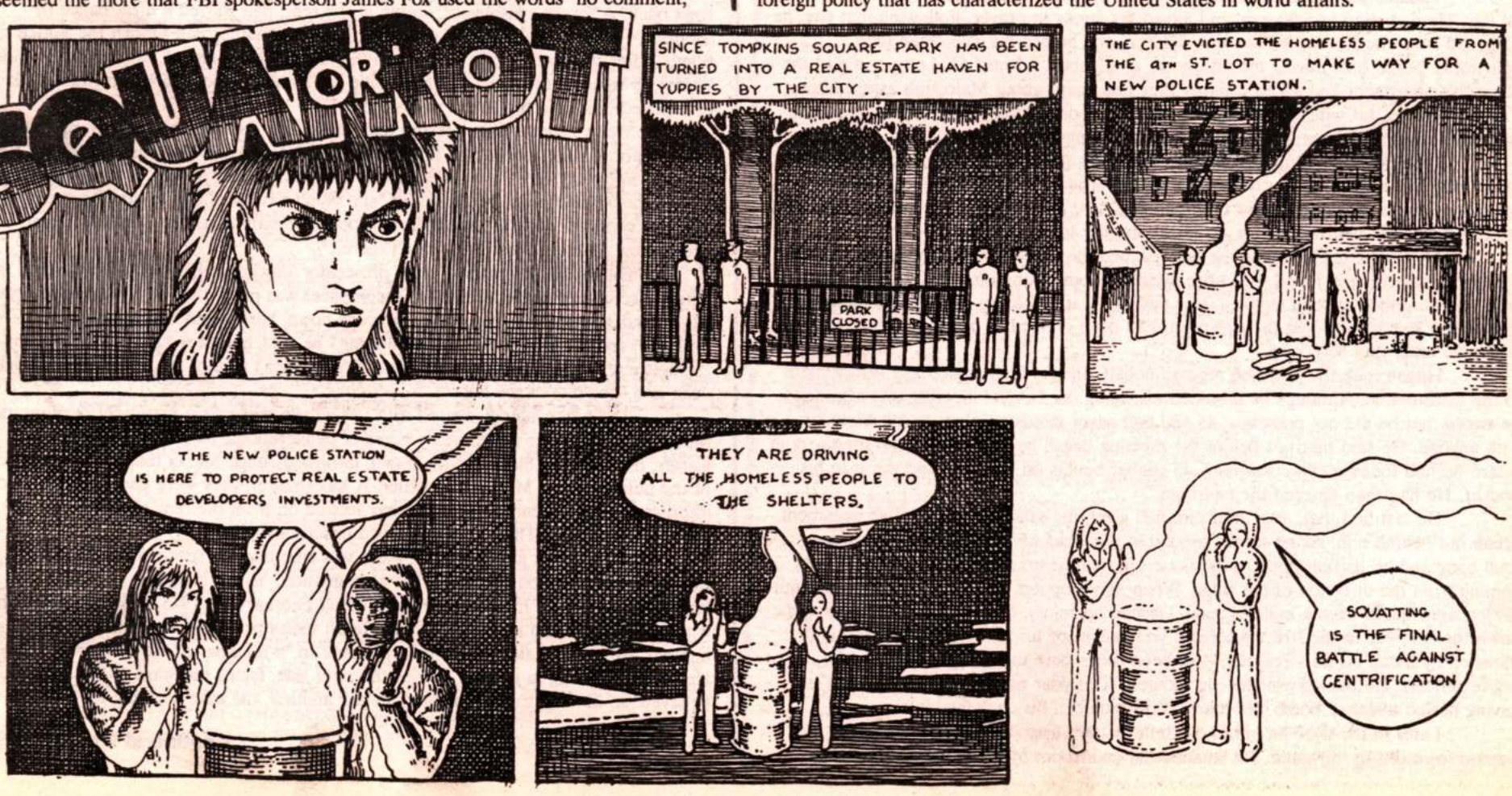
The mere fact that a suspect worshipped at the same mosque as cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the blind, 54 year old Egyptian suddenly became the center of a "conspiracy" manufactured in the editorial rooms of major newspapers and television news departments. Sheik Rahman had been tried in Egypt and acquitted in connection with the 1981 assassination of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. Last year, the Sheik was granted a green card by the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service). The Sheik's residency was revoked after 7 months and he now faces deportation. Sheik Rahman has denounced the bombing and plans to fight the deportation. He has not been charged with any crimes, but the Egyptian government has said it wants to retry him for the Sadat assassination.

Totally unreported in the U.S. press are stories published in the British weekly, the **Manchester Guardian**, that Josi Hadas, the landlady for the rooming house where Salameh lived, is an Israeli citizen and a possible agent of the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad. In recent weeks, the lack of evidence and the demeanor of the five suspects so far arrested has prompted the **Associated Press** and the **New York Times** to begin questioning the FBI's case. Even if this part of the story doesn't pan out, reports in the **Village Voice** by Robert Friedman have pointed to links between Sheik Rahman with Afghan drug lord Hekmatyar who was set up and supported by the CIA.

During the Persian Gulf War, president Bush signed numerous executive orders which, unknown to most Americans, used the cover of potential terrorism to increase surveillance on citizens and make it easier for the government to deport non-citizens accused of supporting so-called terrorism. Recent legislation has proposed that military bases closed by cutbacks be used as auxiliary prisons. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) has been assigned the key role of coordinating the national response to a major domestic crisis. Most alarmingly, FEMA has been charged with the task of rounding up "aliens" and political dissidents in the event of a national war emergency.

FEMA's secretive 1984 "readiness exercise", REX-84 ALPHA, exposed during the Iran-Contra investigation, was a practice run for detaining 40,000 Central American refugees in ten designated military bases throughout the nation in the event of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. An Executive Order signed by Bush grants FEMA a central role in coordinating federal response to the "national security emergency" declared in response to the war in the Persian Gulf.

The possibility exists that the World Trade Center bombing may be a vehicle to allow the national security state erected over the past quarter century to further restrict democratic freedoms that allow the expression of dissent towards the militaristic foreign policy that has characterized the United States in world affairs.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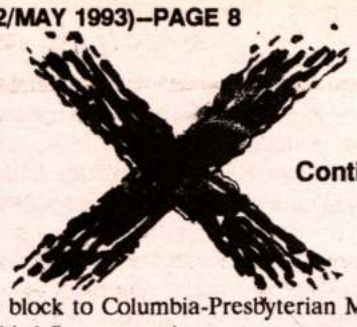
PARK CLOSED
THE CITY EVICTED THE HOMELESS PEOPLE FROM THE 9TH ST. LOT TO MAKE WAY FOR A NEW POLICE STATION.
THE NEW POLICE STATION IS HERE TO PROTECT REAL ESTATE DEVELOPERS INVESTMENTS.
THEY ARE DRIVING ALL THE HOMELESS PEOPLE TO THE SHELTERS.
SQUATTING IS THE FINAL BATTLE AGAINST GENTRIFICATION



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stretcher and wheeled one block to Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center's Vanderbuilt Clinic. In its third floor operating room, surgeons opened his chest and tried unsuccessfully to vitalize his heart. He was declared dead at 3:30pm, the cause of death later described by Dr. Milton Helperin, the City Medical Examiner, as "multiple shotgun slugs and bullet wounds of the chest, heart and aorta."

Strangely, a uniformed New York City partrolman had been stationed in the Clinic's emergency room before the assassination. Although there was a total lack of any visible police presence at the Audubon that Sunday, despite the firebombing of Malcolm's house a week earlier, two officers were hidden from public view in the building with walkie talkie contact with the one waiting in the emergency room.

Although the FBI had devoted thousands of hours to both the Naition of Islam and Malcolm, it decided to play no role in the investigation of the latter's murder. On the day following the assassination, the agency instructed its New York Office "not to furnish the New York Police Department with any information developed without prior bureau clearance...this appears to be a murder case, basically a problem of the New York Police Department, and the FBI should not become involved."

The Funeral

Malcolm's funeral took place the following Saturday at Harlem's Faith Temple of the Church of God in Christ. 600 persons managed to crowd into the building, while thousands waited outside in the bitter cold. Actor Ossie Davis eulogized him as "our manhood, our living black manhood. In honoring him, we honor the best in ourselves. He was a prince - our black shining prince - who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so." When the Muslim service ended, Malcolm was buried in Westchester County's Ferncliff Cemetery.

The Indictment

On March 10, 1965, a New York County Grand Jury returned a one-count indictment against Thomas Hagan, Norman 3X Butler, and Thomas 15X Johnson, charging them with Malcolm's murder. Johnson had been arrested at his apartment at 923 Bronx Park South on March 3, 1965. Butler had been apprehended at his home on Rosedale Avenue seven days earlier. Both men were members of Mosque No. 7's FOI.

The Trial

The joint trial began on December 6, 1965, in part 37 of Manhattan's Supreme Court before Justice Charles Marks and a jury. Six witnesses who had been present at the Audubon on the day of the crime identified Hagan as the man who had shouted "What are you doing with your hand in my pocket" at Butler, who was sitting beside him. Four others pointed to Johnson as the person who, within seconds of that disturbance, stood up at the front of the hall and fired two blasts from a sawed-off shotgun at Malcolm from some fifteen feet away. Still others pointed to Hagan and Butler as the men who had fired repeatedly at the victim's prone body with a .45 and a Luger, respectively.

Butler testified that he was a Muslim and an FOI lieutenant of Mosque No. 7. On February 21st, he had risen at 7:00 a.m. and, because of a pain in his left leg, which had been injured on January 22nd, left the house forty-five minutes later and drove to Jacobi Hospital, arriving there at approximately 9:15. He was treated by a Dr. Kenneth E. Saslowe and several other physicians. He left the hospital at 11:00 a.m. and drove to a restaurant in Manhattan owned and operated by the NOI. He returned home some time beofre one o'clock and, two hours later, received a telphone call from a Gloria Wills who told him that Malcolm had been killed.

Butler's wife confirmed her husband's testimony. Ms. Wills said that she had indeed called the Butlers on February 21st to inform them that Malcolm was dead. Dr. Saslowe brought with him Jacobi Hospital records indicating that Butler had entered that institution's Emergency Room at 9:45 a.m. on February 21st, and had been treated by him. The physician, who had diagnosed Butler's condition as a superficial thrombophlebitis and applied an Ace bandage, recommended that he go home, stay in bed, and elevate his leg. Butler had left the hospital an hour after his arrival, returning on February 25th because both of his ankles had become badly inflamed.

Thomas 15X Johnson testified that, on February 21st, he had remained home all day. He had risen at 5:00 a.m. and joined his family in prayer. Following that rite, he had read from the Koran, fed his four children, and helped his wife clean their apartment. Some time during the afternoon, a neighbor, Edward 4X Long, came to the Johnson's apartment and asked whether they had heard about Malcolm's assasination. Toward evening, his wife joined him. At dusk, Johnson left the house for the first time that day to buy ice cream for his family and the Longs.

Johnson's wife, Etta, verified her husband's story except that she recalled that Mrs. Long had arrived shortly before her spouse. The two couples had learned of Malcolm's death via a radio news flash between 3:30 and 4:00 p.m. Evidence at the trial indicated that the first braoadcast about the murder took place at 3:15 p.m.

Mrs. Long testified that she had reached the Johnson's apartment shortly after 5:00 p.m. that day and found the entire family at home. Johnson, she said, was wearing what she described as "bed clothes." Her husband stated that he had arrived between 3:30 and 4:30 p.m. and that the defendant had been dressed in pajamas. The Longs did not leave until after 9:00 p.m.

Hagan took the stand on his own behalf, and, at first, denied any involvement in the assasination. Although he admitted attending the OAAU meeting that afternoon, he swore that he did not possess a .45 and had never discussed plans to kill Malcolm with anyone. He said that just before the meeting began he had gone to the men's room where he had found a clip containing .45 caliber bullets on the floor and put it in his pocket. He had then entered the ballroom.

He testified that, after Malcolm had given the salaams, he heard an argument break out behind him. As he turned around to see what was happening, there was a loud bang and he had dropped to the floor. He then heard a number of sharp retorts coming from the direction of the stage. When they stopped, he ran toward the exit until his leg went numb from a bullet wound. Despite his injury, he managed to slide or hope down the stairway to the street where he was caught by his pursuers and kicked and punched by them. As he screamed, "I've been shot - help me!", he was rescued by police officers. He denied ever having shouted, "Get your hands out of my pocket" or having hurled a smoke bomb. He didn't know either of his co-defendants.

Later in the trial, he informed Butler's court-appointed attorney that he wanted to return to the stand. He stunned the courtroom by recanting his previous testimony and confessing his guilt. He admitted that he had fired the .45 at Malcolm, but again denied that he had shouted anything that day. He said that he had been offered money to kill Malcolm but had never received it.

Although he steadfastly refused to reveal their names, he said that four other persons had joined him in the plot to kill Malcolm. He and one of the other men, armed with handguns, had sat in the first row while the man with the shotgun was three rows back. A fourth conspirator, seated in the rear, had started a disturbance by shouting, "Get your hand out of my pocket!", while another had thrown the smoke bomb. After the shooting, he had run to the rear of the ballroom, dropping his weapon before he reached the stairs. He had made the smoke bomb, which consisted of pieces of exposed film placed inside a man's sock.

When Judge Marks pressed him to disclose his accomplices' names, he said, "I got up here for one reason and that was to clear the two men of this charge that I know they are not guilty of." He insisted that he and "four...other people" were guilty but that Butler and Johnson were not involved "and didn't have anything to do with the crime that was committed at the Audubon Ballroom February 21st, that I did take part in it, and I know for a fact that they wasn't there..."

During his summation, chief prosecutor Vincent J. Dermody emphasized that Hagan's refusal to name his alleged accomplices was proof that he was lying to save Butler and Johnson. "He knew he was going down, buried under a mountain of evidence, and he tried to do the noble thing," he said, his voice heavy with sarcasm. "Somewhere along the line, it was decided, by whom I cannot say, that he was a dead duck and should take the fall."

The jury evidently agreed with this wholly reasonable argument because, on March 10, 1986, after some twenty hours of deliberations, its foreman, George S. Carter, one of three blacks on the panel, informed Judge Marks that it had convicted all of the defendants of Malcolm's murder. A month later, they were each sentenced to life imprisonment as a tearful Betty Shabazz looked on from the rear row of the tightly guarded courtroom. Their appeals proved unsuccessful.

Despite the jury's verdicts, there was considerable speculation that, as a police spokesperson put it on the day of the assassination, "as many as five conspirators might have been involved." In one FBI report, dated February 23, 1965, it was reported that a witness had indicated that "four to five Negro males participated in the shooting." In another, two weeks later, reference was made to "a member of the NOI from Paterson, New Jersey...sitting in the last row on the right side, facing the stage [who] is believed...to be one of the assassins." In still another, the man wielding the shotgun was

Continued On Next Page

HARLEM MARCH TO SAVE THE AUDUBON BALLROOM

By Barbara Lee

BARBARA LEE

On Sunday, February 21st, approximately one hundred people rallied in the midst of a fierce winter storm to save the Audubon Ballroom. The protestors marched from 125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard (the site of the Hotel Theresa) to 168th Street and Broadway (the site of the Audubon Ballroom).

The day and site are of special significance. On February 21st, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated at the Audubon Ballroom. Twenty-eight years later, NYC Mayor David Dinkins gave the Audubon to Columbia University, one of the city's largest landlords, which plans to turn the Audubon into a biotechnology laboratory. Members of the Save the Audubon Coalition (S.T.A.C.) say that the Harlem community wants to have the Audubon turned into a community center and a memorial to Malcolm X, not a potentially dangerous lab where diseases may be concocted.

The rally and march were sponsored by the December 12th Movement and S.T.A.C. Speakers included Olive Green and Omowale Clay of the December 12th Movement, members of S.T.A.C. and Columbia University students facing disciplinary action for protesting against their school's plans to build a biotech lab on the site of the Audubon.

Despite heavy police presence, the demonstrators took the streets for the duration of the march and succeeded in blocking Broadway northbound until the end of the rally. People were encouraged to get involved with the Save the Audubon Coalition. The rally ended with no interference from the police or Columbia University.

Meetings to save the Audubon are held at St. Mary's Church, 521 W. 126th Street (Between Broadway and Amsterdam), Tuesdays at 7 P.M.

MALCOLM X

described as "a tall dark-skinned Negro...a member of the Newark Temple." A fourth quoted a *Life Magazine* reporter who was overheard saying that "the killers of Malcolm X were possibly imported to NYC."

The Aftermath

Weeks after Hagan's arrest, I was visited by his sister and other family members and asked to represent him. Because of my admiration of Malcolm, who had appeared on a number of radio programs moderated by me, I turned them down. However, I did follow the trial and was in Judge Marks' courtroom when Hagan astonished us all and admitted his guilt. I knew that his refusal to name his accomplices would seriously weaken his testimony but I was impressed by what appeared to me to be a truthful and logical account of the planning and execution of Malcolm's assassination.

Five years later, as one of the observers summoned by the Attica inmates who had seized that prison's D-Yard during the Attica Prison uprising, I ran into Hagan, now known as Mujahid Abdul Halim, who led the Muslim guard in charge of protecting the fifty or so hostages taken by the rebellious prisoners. After we had discussed my reasons for refusing to represent him in 1965, I questioned him at some length about his recantation at the trial. He repeated what he had told the jury but, despite my earnest entreaties, still refused to name names. "I'm not a rat," he said.

As the years rolled by, I simply could not get it out of my head that, if Hagan was indeed telling the truth, two innocent men were doomed to spend perhaps the rest of their lives in prison. However, I felt that he would never "rat" on his four companions that day in 1965. "It's against my religion," he told me at Attica, "to inform on other Muslim brothers. I want to help these guys who had nothing to do with the killing, but I just can't give up the names."

During his post-Attica incarceration at the Eastern Correctional Facility, Napanoch, N.Y., he was regularly visited by Department of Correctional Services Chaplain Nuriddin Faiz, a minister of the World Community of Islam, an NOI successor, who also unsuccessfully urged him to give up the names of his accomplices. According to Faiz, Hagan had, over the years, become "increasingly concerned with the fact that his co-defendants were innocent of the crime of which they were convicted with him."

The chaplain and I met with Hagan in October and November, 1977. He furnished us with many facts about Malcolm's assassination, including its planning, the diversionary tactics, the types of weapons employed, who obtained and used them, and the details of the murder itself, all of which he repeated in an affidavit. While still withholding the names from us, he promised to reveal them if I was ever able to obtain a hearing at which he could testify.

Armed with this information, I filed a motion for a new trial on behalf of both Butler and Johnson in the same court where they had been tried eleven years earlier. Judge Marks had retired and the matter was assigned to Acting Justice Harold Rothwax. During oral argument in January of 1978, Rothwax stated that, unless I furnished a more detailed affidavit from Hagan, he would be forced to deny my application.

On February 15, 1978, I returned to Napanoch and informed Hagan that Justice Rothwax required "a more specific affidavit" from him. He agreed to furnish one and said he would give it to Imam Faiz upon the latter's next visit, scheduled for Saturday, February 25th. That morning, Hagan called me and said that he had just written such an affidavit in his own handwriting and that Faiz had witnessed it. The chaplain read the document to me and then I asked him to put Hagan back on the line so that I could hear his voice. He assured me that he had indeed signed the affidavit and swore to its contents.

The affidavit was a blockbuster. Afer stating that he hoped that his information "will clear up any doubt as to what took place in the killing of Malcolm X and the innocents [sic] of Norman Butler and Thomas Johnson," he proceeded to elaborate in great detail the planning and execution of Malcolm's assassination. In the summer of 1964, he had been approached, in his hometown of Paterson, N.J., about the project by two Muslims who complained bitterly that "Malcolm was "defaming the Hon. Elijah Muhammad" by accusing him of adultery and the paternity of a number of illegitimate children. The men's names were "Ben or Benjamin Thomas or Thompson" and "Bro. Lee, also known as Leon Davis." Both were members of Newark's Mosque #25.

The trio soon got together with "William X," who lived on South Orange Avenue, directly across from the Newark mosque, and "a Bro. named Wilbur or Kinley." After a number of meetings, they drove out to Malcolm's house in East Elmhurst, Queens, "to see what security was there." Finding the residence "heavily guarded," the plotters decided that "the only place that Mal X would be was at the Ballroom where he was making speeches to the people there. In fact, we attended one of the meetings to see what security was there. We learned that no one was searching at the door for weapons."

Finally, they came to the conclusion that "the only place that Mal X was sure to be was at the Ballroom. And we decided that with a crowd there we had a good chance of getting in there and out after the move was made, the shooting that is." They visited the Audubon "the night before the killing to set this up. It was a dance that night and we came there like everyone else, got a ticket, went in and looked the place over." On the way home, in Ben's car, they agreed that "we would do this the next day, Feb. 21, 1965."

The following morning, the quintet met at Leon's house on Hamilton Avenue in Paterson "to go over our plan." They were to get to the Audubon early and take their seats. "Leon and me up front on left side, facing the stage. Ben and William right behind us. I had the 45 auto, Leon the Luger. William had the shotgun. Wilbur or Kinley had the seat in back of the place. His job was to accuse someone of picking his pocket and throw the smoke bomb. This was timed to happen when Mal X started to greet the people. Almost at the same time, William would fire the shotgun and Leon and I would fire our guns at Mal X and run for the door."

They drove to New York in Wilbur's car, a 1962 blue Cadillac, and parked "a few blocks from the Ballroom on a street heading for George Was. bridge." Hagan had purchased the weapons in question from someone who "had nothing to do with the crime" and he had made the smoke bomb.

The assassination had then proceeded according to plan.

On March 27, 1978, Hagan gave me much more complete descriptions of his confederates. These were as follows:

Benjamin Thomas - Secretary or Assistant Secretary of the Mosque - 30 years old - 5'8" or 5'9" tall - 170 lbs. - wore glasses with black frames - thin with brown complexion - close-cut hair - well spoken - married with four or more children - lived in a second-floor, 4-5 room, apartment in a wooden building on Hamilton Avenue, Paterson, N.J. - employed by an envelope manufacturing company in Hackensack, N.J., as a cutter - attended public schools in Paterson and possibly Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama - played basketball - member of the Fruit of Islam - may have driven a black Chrysler.

Leon Davis - 20-21 years old - 5'9" tall - 175 lbs. - dark-brown complexion - no glasses - well spoken - cross-cropped hair - used to reside on lower Market Street, Paterson, N.J. - married and lived on second floor of same kind of an apartment house as Benjamin Thomas on Paterson's Hamilton Avenue, diagonally across the street from him - attending public schools in Paterson and worked in an electronics plant in that city - Fruit of Islam member.

William X - 27 years old - stocky build - 5'10" or 5'11" tall - dark brown complexion - close cropped hair - lived in Newark - member Mosque #25 and Fruit of Islam - last name is Bradley - presently believed to be incarcerated in the Essex County Jail, Caldwell, N.J.

Wilbur Kinley - Over 30 years old - 5'9" tall, on the thin side - brown complexion - thick mustache - married - had own construction firm and did work on the Newark mosque - lived in Newark - owned a light-blue Cadillac - member Fruit of Islam.

In addition to Hagan's affidavits and the subsequent detailed descriptions of his alleged accomplices, some of which corresponded to those contained in a number of FBI reports, an affidavit from Benjamin X Goodman, the man who had warmed up the OAAU audience before Malcolm was scheduled to speak, was submitted to Justice Rothwax. In it, he stated that he knew both Butler and Johnson as fellow FOI members, and that, when he scanned the crowd that afternoon, they were not present. If they had been in the Ballroom, he said, since they were known Mosque #7 FOI members, they would have been watched most carefully. He had never been called to testify at the trial. "I don't know why," he told me. "I said to the District Attorney exactly what I've told you."

The Conclusion

On November 1, 1978, Justice Rothwax denied our motion, claiming that the affidavits submitted to him "conclusively demonstrate that the offer of proof is neither new nor so reliable as to create the probability of a more favorable verdict." He also refused our request that he order the district attorney to interrogate the four men named by Hagan, concluding that "were there reliable evidence which tended to support the conclusions that petitioners suggest, this court is confident that the district attorney would undertake to ensure that no miscarriage of justice had occurred."

Despite the court's confidence, the district attorney took no steps to investigate the matter.

A subsequent federal petition for a writ of habeas corpus was denied for similar reasons. I next appealed to Rep. Louis Stokes, then the Chair of the House's Black Caucus, to have the case investigated by the newly formed Select Committee on Assassinations, along with those of President Kennedy and Dr. King. When I met with him in Washington, he agreed with me that Hagan's story certainly raised serious doubts about the guilt of Butler and Johnson, but that Betty Shabazz's hostility to the reopening of her husband's assassination posed an insurmountable obstacle to its inclusion in the Select Committee's mandate.

When I left Stokes' office, I realized that we had reached the end of the road and that two men whom I considered to be totally innocent of Malcolm's murder were destined to remain in prison for a major portion of their adult lives.

Epilogue

Fortunately, both Johnson and Butler were paroled before the minimum of twenty-six years and eight months they would ordinarily have been required to serve. On December 2, 1992, the parole board refused, for the seventh time, to grant Hagan's release although it found that he had an "excellent institutional adjustment and educational accomplishment" in prison. Perhaps he can take some small measure of comfort in the realization that at least Spike Lee believes that he was telling the truth about the identities of those who, along with him, murdered Malcolm X a few minutes after 3:00 p.m. on February 21, 1965.

The Real Murderers

On January 22, 1969, four years after the assassination of Malcolm X, the Special Agent in Charge of the FBI's Chicago Office reported to J. Edgar Hoover that "Over the years thought has been given and action taken, with Bureau approval, relating to methods through which the National of Islam could be discredited in the eyes of the general black populace or through which factionalism among the leadership could be created...Factional disputes have been developed - the most notable being Malcolm X. Little."

In 1976, a Senate Committee chaired by the late Senator Frank Church concluded that the FBI's program "to capitalize on active hostility between target groups carried with them the risk of serious physical injury to the targets." One example of the Bureau's resort to this technique as its direction to an NOI informant in July of 1964 that he inform Malcolm that "orders to kill him came from Chicago" and that he could furnish him with "witnesses if Malcolm wants to take them to court."

According to the Church Committee, "[A]pproximately 28% of the FBI's [counterintelligence] efforts were designed to weaken groups by setting members against each other, or to separate groups which might otherwise be allies, and convert them into mutual enemies. The techniques included anonymous mailings...to group members criticizing a leader or an allied group...encouraging hostility, up to and including gang warfare, between rival groups..." The NOI and the OAAU were two of the groups targeted by the Bureau for such treatment.

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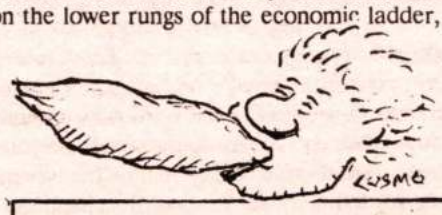
WE INHALED AT THE WASHINGTON INAUGURAL SMOKE-IN!!

By Amilia Morales (Jan.21, Washington, DC)

We arrived early in the morning and we all inhaled and wandered off to find the Smoke In. It was drizzly and cold out. It was a great party and we all had fun. The police didn't arrest anyone--all they did was ask someone to show them the permit. Washington D.C. was covered in red white and blue (gag!) About 250-300 people showed up to party right there in front of the white house as the Clinton crew took power. There was some music and speakers. My favorite speaker was a Native American man who spoke about 500 years of genocide and that the history of this country is of murder, racism, invasions and bombing to shit of countries all over the world. He also said that people of color and poor people never won liberation by voting in elections in this country under this system of rich scum. Many other speakers had faith in Clinton since he is supposed to be more liberal, with pot laws and all.

As I sat back after inhaling on a blunt I listened to the speeches and wondered what people thought of the fact that as we got stoned, the U.S was going on its war path (as usual) in its continuing attacks on Iraq. I was curious how many fellow pot heads realize how there are some things that just don't change with elections--for example, the war on Iraq continued with out missing a beat in that "week of transition'. Being a woman, I don't feel liberated as of January 21, 1993. I still can't go out worry-free at any hour I damn well please, and we are still surrounded by racist scum who continue their racist attacks. If you are on the lower rungs of the economic ladder, you'll get screwed first and the worst.

Bush was a "Bad Cop"
Clinton is the "Good Cop"
and this is a pig system!
It's High time for High Treason!



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NEW DEMOCRACY WISH LIST

FOR PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON WHITE HOUSE

By Allen Ginsberg

(When president Clinton asked writer/poet Maya Angelou to read a poem to the nation she wrote for his inauguration, *NY Newsday* asked three New York City poets, including legendary poet Allen Ginsberg to write what they would have read if Clinton had asked them instead. This is the complete unedited version that Allen Ginsberg gave us!!)

Retro Axioms:

"Progress" ended in XX century.

Hyper rationalism reduces natural complexity nature to narrow thought abstraction; Hyper-rationalization, hyper-industrialization & Hyper-technology create chaos.

US. command economy subsidies rule fossil fuel and nuclear Energy & Science, Agriculture, Air & Motor Transport, Banking, Communications, Mass Media, Military Industrial Complex, also licit and illicit psychoactive Drugs. American Free Market is hi-tech myth with national socialist regulation implicit everywhere except small business and little magazines.

Muscle Power connected to appropriate hi-tech might rehabilitate Earth.

Lacks & Needs:

Fossil Fuels retard the planet. Detoxify America: tainted Fire poisons Earth, fouls Air & pollutes Water.

Medical Insurance emphasizing prevention & alternative medicine. Money rebates for not using Self-insured health credits: like mythic China, "Only pay Doctor when you are well."

Fund Ryan White Care Act, build infrastructure of decentralized community-based health care preventative medicine early intervention clinics for people living with AIDS & TB inner city plagues.

Separate church & state in Center for Disease Control, fund bleach kits, needle exchange & plainspoken AIDS education among poverty-class disease prone high-risk teens & women.

National crash program coordinating research in non-profit anti-AIDS medicines.

Decriminalize addictive drug problem, Reduce mass-million expense on narcotics-addicted political prisoners overcrowding courts & jails, Medicalize drug trade, doctors can cure addiction or provide maintenance if no cure.

Decriminalize marijuana, its disadvantages are minor; reserve hemp grass as unadvertised private small cash crop for failing family farms.

Democratize & entrust psychedelics to medical educational priestly professions. Get the Military out of the LSD business.

End tobacco farming subsidies, cut use. Ex-Nicotine lobbyists working in Clinton's new White House can stop smoking.

Shift agricultural subsidies toward grain beans & vegetable diet. Tax meat as a nutritional agronomic & ecologic disaster.

Honor primary and secondary school teachers, elevate respect, reward educators as handsomely as Plumbers, reduce class crowding to human size, under 15 students; encourage national child-care projects.

Establish Civilian Conservation Corps for Urban homesteading, thin out corrupt local bureaucracies obstructing populist housing reconstruction.

With massive scale reforestation wilderness & rural, plant universal urban tree rows.

Separate Church & State in arts, education, & civil law. Restore National Endowment for the Arts freedom from Fundamentalist political intrusion.

Sexuality's loose not fixed. Legalize it.

Inaugurate National "Limits of Growth" Program for Population/Land Use/Pollution.

Jump start national state & city waste compost & recycling, human and industrial.

Take back money from SLA bankruptcy profiteer goniffs.

Purge U.S. military death squad subsidies in Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, etc. We backed up dictators in Zaire, Somalia, Liberia, Sudan, Angola, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Salvador, we're responsible: admit it then figure ways out.

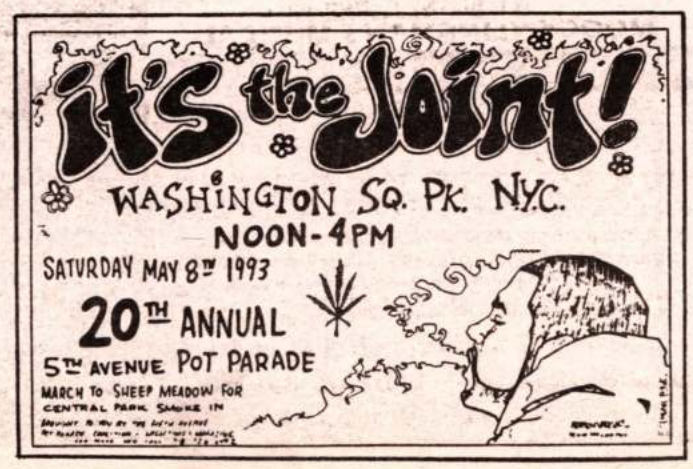
Encourage international trade in Eco-technology in place of enabling co-dependency on weapons trade.

Open CIA & FBI & NSA archives on Cointelpro raids, Government drug dealing, Kennedy/King assassinations, Iranian Contragate, Panama Deception, Vatican, Hand & Lavoro Bank thuggery, etc. including Bush-Noriega relations and other CIA client-agent scandals.

Open all secret files on J. Edgar Hoover-Cardinal Spellman-Roy Cohn-Joe McCarthy alcoholic Closet Queen Conspiracy with Organized Crime to sabotage Native & African American Hispanic & Gay minority leaderships and blackmail U.S. Presidents & Congress for half century.

Get Government Secret Police (DEA CIA FBI NSA etc.) off our backs the next millennium.

Allen Ginsberg (1/17/93)



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THE "NOT FOR PROFIT" CABAL

By Shelter Watcher

(The SHADOW's man in the shelter system)

*(Cabal: A number of persons secretly united and using devious...means to bring about an overturn...in public affairs--**Webster's Third New International Dictionary**)*

Now that the official season of good feeling (it scarcely seems to outlast those "Twelve Days", does it?) is behind us, let's cut through the media puffery and take a cold look at the activities of some of the groups comprising the not-for-profit "family".

For some of them, the new year brings some pain and precious little cause for rejoicing, to wit: if, indeed, the projected dilution of the Human Resources Administration's authority is for real in that it might have to share some decisions on homelessness with a new mayoral office, this will certainly not be an unmixed blessing for the N-F-P's (Not For Profits) or "service providers" as they like to be called, as they could then be compelled to engage in two contract rounds instead of just one, as presently. However, they might be advised not to worry too much about this as the whole business has all the appearance of being another political ploy, HRA having outlived many other efforts to bring them to accountability.

Let's take a closer look at some of the "Palladins of the poor and the powerless".

"CITY LIMITS INFORMATIONAL SERVICES": Foundation funded, projecting itself as a think tank and clearing house for "New Initiatives on affordable housing", provided. they do not run counter to the objectives and policies of their puppet-masters at 100 Gold Street (HPD Headquarters), that is: a fairly typical example of an "activist" group which has attained a tenuous degree of acceptance by a city agency and will do nothing to compromise it.

Funded by the J.M. Kaplan foundation, one of the chief money sources for flaky liberal left(over) projects, the flakier the better! **"City Limits"** magazine also publishes a monthly (mainly consisting of turgid and dull articles by the designated academic "experts" on homelessness (Columbia and NYU "Urban Policy Institutes").

Rating: Offering little original "information" and even less "service".

(Operates from 40 Prince Street. Contact: Lisa 925-9820).

"MFY LEGAL SERVICES": One of the sleaziest and most unprincipled "activist" groups whose main interest is protecting drug locations under the guise of advocating for "tenant rights". They have recently managed to achieve something of "hero" status in the 222 East 13th Street case, due mainly to the clumsy heavy-handedness of HPD in this affair. The question remains, however, was this action intentional? (i.e., set up by HPD to use the presence of a few drug dealers and prostitutes as an excuse to evict legitimate tenants from their city-owned apartments!)

Staffed, as most like organizations seem to be, by strident lawyeresses, wild-eyed zealots recently graduated from law school and a smaller group of "wise elders" (godfathers!), one of whom, Ted Zeichner, has been described as "the best housing lawyer in the city." This individual, who is also a very prominent member of Community Board Six (just to our north) and recently, as acting chair of their homeless/housing committee, was most instrumental in its rejecting an AIDS residence proposed for East 22nd Street. So, just a few short blocks (nine to be exact) was all that was sufficient for his transformation from "homeless advocate" to NIMBY ("Not In My Back Yard") and that within the same two weeks.

Not surprisingly, MFY has point blank refused to assist the neighborhood in the case of the mob-owned flea pit druggie haven "Sunshine Hotel" at 241-5 Bowery -- (however, in this particular case, they would seem to have at least the tacit support of the local precinct!)

Rating: Fascinating case studies of: (1) disinterested activism; or (2) Talmudic manipulation. Take your choice!!

(Based on Avenue "A". Contact: Ted 387-8300)

"EVAC" (EAST VILLAGERS AGAINST CRIME): Along the same lines of MFY, if somewhat less important. Now the media plaything of state senator Martin Connor's aide Charlie Dworkis, a steady "fixture" at Lower Manhattan Community Board meetings and, reputedly, a "Wannabe" Councilmember (watch out, Antonio!) -- This individual nonetheless appears to enjoy a fairly considerable degree of "clout" with the D.A.'s office. His main function appears to be that of "spotter" or tout regarding which drug locations receive the attention of that office and which do not (and, of course, who knows what "other duties" he may have?)

(Unknown funding source--City?) Contact: Charlie 417-5531

"BRC HUMAN SERVICES": Founded in 1972 as the "Bowery Residents' Committee" by a far-sighted lawyer with two winos from the Palace Hotel in tow (certainly a bold move in 1972), this outfit, for all the heavy "business/government" representation on its board (5 lawyers, John Feinblatt, Marck Willrov, William J. Tennis, Jeffrey Rosen, and a New York State Assistant Attorney General, Edward R. Adams, Wall Street / banking representation and, rather curiously, significant representation from the Publishing World), remains rather ineffective locally and not "plugged in".

Its most recent move in our area was securing the Community Board's endorsement for a supported SRO Cum shelter at the Palace Hotel location after a few extremely cursory and brief hearings last spring. They have not, however, been successful in negotiating a lease with the current owners (gentlemen who, you can be sure, have at least a nodding acquaintance with the local "goodfellas"). Who knows? Perhaps they have received a better offer, or, as likely, perhaps a certain "committee" from Cooper Square considers this location to be in "their" territory?

Advice: Try to garner more effective community support.

(Contact: Donna 533-5700).

Continued On Page 14

ACTION DAY HOMELESS FORUM

By Barbara Lee

The annual "Action Day" hosted by the Partnership for the Homeless took place at the New School for Social Research on January 30. This year's theme was "Growth, Transition, and Change: How does this affect us?" relating to the incoming Clinton Administration.

Local politicians including Mayor David Dinkins, City Council President Andrew Stein and police department flunky Rudolph Giuliani, all of whom are jockeying for the same job in the upcoming mayoral elections, showed up to give out awards and hot air.

During a panel discussion, Charles V. Raymond ("Director, The Mayor's Office for Homeless Facilities Development") graciously conceded that being homeless was not entirely the fault of the homeless! He deplored the state of the homeless crisis, admitting that institutionalized homeless shelters are despicable. Raymond claimed that he would like to be out of business in five years and that this would be possible if the needy were able to access federal and state funds.

Another panelist of the people, Hildy J. Simmons (vice-president of J.P.Morgan & Company) came up with a plan to have banks finance housing development since city, state, and federal aid is not forthcoming in the near future. This idea leads people to wonder whether the banks are willing to fund low-income housing without making a profit. This and other questions were not heard because there was no question and answer session after panelists gave their speeches.

After the morning program, the Partnership gave out free lunches for those in attendance. Many people crowded into the cafeteria to get their meals and discuss the day's events.

The afternoon program consisted of various workshops, one of which was the Effective Housing Strategies workshop. Each panelist discussed how they were able to build and/or rehabilitate buildings. Nearly all felt that no new construction for low-income housing will happen due to the lack of federal aid, so they focused on how to legally bring a building up to code and obtain a certificate of occupancy.

A question was posed to panelist Carol Watson, (project manager of the Housing Development Institute; Archdiocese of New York; Mutual Housing Association; and Lower East Area Catholic Conference, the real estate arm of the Catholic Church) about the 470 squatter families that will be paying rent to the city, possible legalization of squatting, and whether squatters who have put sweat equity, finances, and pride into rehabilitating their buildings would be able to eventually own them. Instead of answering, Watson vehemently denounced squatters as people that don't pay taxes and steal electricity from lampposts. After she was told that some squatters have legal Con Edison services, she conceded she was wrong, but then continued raging about "those horrid squatters."

The other panelists seemed to agree that squatters who work on their buildings should keep them and they seemed surprised and comfortable with Watson's outburst.

After the workshops, Action Day 93 ended with a discussion and comments. Some wondered why the event wasn't attended by many homeless people. One man implied that the homeless aren't motivating themselves, using gays rallying to combat AIDS as an example. He neglected to mention the differences between gay activists, most of whom are white, male, with financial resources and political clout, and homeless people, most of whom are people of color, destitute, with no political power, and some of whom are mentally ill as well.

Most of the panelists, including the mayoral candidates, did not stay long enough to hear what people had to say about homelessness. Even so, the forum was informative, but offered no solutions. It did demonstrate that we cannot expect much leadership from Dinkins, Stein and Giuliani in helping to combat homelessness.

Hippies, Activists, Libertarians, Deadheads

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SOUNDVIEWS, MARCH 93

"...HEARTFELT VOICES!"
VILLAGE VOICE, FEB 93

"UNGLAMOROUS & CHILLINGLY BELIEVABLE"
NY PLANET, FEB 93

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THIS UNDERCOVER KOP (Arrow) WAS ONE OF MANY MINGLING WITH DEMONSTRATORS AT THE FEB.20 METAL JAM IN THE 9TH ST. LOT

Well, here we are again!! Just when the kops thought the SHADOW had folded and it was safe to rob drug dealers, enforce park curfews and overdose on doughnuts, we're baaaack!!

*****

The big news is yet another revelation of drug dealing kops from the "elite" Drug Enforcement Task Force (DETF) that has been raiding storefronts that sell drugs (mostly pot) like crazy in the aftermath of the killing of P.O. Louie Lopez during a botched raid at a tee shirt and pot store at 114 East First Street in March. The media was told that Lopez had been buying pot and guns from the storefront on a regular basis, and that on the day of the raid he was to complete a purchase of ten pounds of pot there.

Lopez arrived with a crew of undercover kops who tackled the first guy standing near the doorway and cuffed him after slapping him around a bit, in full view of the others inside. Whether they thought these were kops or a gang of thugs attempting a rip-off we'll never know, but soon bullets were flying, and Lopez got shot.

The media dutifully reported the kops' version of events, including that only one of the dealers was shot by kops, grazing his hip. A kop watcher tells us that the man was shot in the leg and that kops later took him from the hospital for "questioning" and beat him up in the car. Another man, led to and from the precinct, was seen to have been beaten severely in the face by kops. Sources have told the SHADOW that this particular store had been dealing only pot in small amounts as well as tee shirts, to walk-in customers for several years, and that traditionally, guns and pot don't mix. Besides, since possession of pot is a relatively minor "crime," it is unlikely that guns would be involved unless a rip-off was indeed in progress.

*****

The usual manufactured story of kops fighting another deadly battle in the war against drugs began unraveling right after the shooting. It was revealed that kops had received a tip that a police informant would be shot in that neighborhood, though kops said the location given was two blocks away, on East 3rd Street. Yet the raid took place as planned.

A few days later, more revelations resulted in the arrests of several DETF members, including a few from the gang who accompanied Lopez on the raid, for dealing confiscated drugs and stealing confiscated money, as well as working with dealers on the Lower East Side. A "probe" was then announced, looking into additional allegations that kops have been tipping off gangs to drug locations so they could rob them just before raids by the DETF, that DETF probers used government paid informants and others to sell drugs for them stolen from dealers and the DEA's evidence vault, and that kops with illegal search warrants have been robbing stores and drug locations.

Whatever became of the Justice Department's announced investigation of 10 NYPD precincts (including the 9th precinct) for corruption? Perhaps the real purpose of these "investigations" is to find out where the leaks are and eliminate them, indicting a few kops to make it look like they've done something. Meanwhile, it's business as usual.

*****

Is any of this really news? Tompkins Square activists have been saying this for years. According to a long time resident and kop watcher, "hero" kops Foster and Laurie, who were shot and killed on the Lower East Side in 1971, and who were memorialized with a heart breaking TV movie and a plaque outside the 9th precinct, were killed by speed dealers on 13th Street who were tired of getting ripped off by them!!

*****

Speaking of dead kops, three kops, all brothers, have started a heavy metal rock group called Speed Loaders in response to Ice-T's smash hit "Cop Killer." As one can expect, their only song, "Sea Of Blue" is about a dead kop, shot in the line of duty. Not surprisingly, somehow, in spite of all the heavy guitar riffs and special sound effects, it ain't no "Cop Killer!"

*****

Picture this: you're one of the kops answering a call about a drive-by shooting at Palm Billiards on Houston Street. Dozens of uniforms and plainclothes are there, the windows are full of holes, the place is empty, and of course, the shooters are long gone. What do you do? We don't know what you would have done, but the plainclothes were seen playing pool while the uniforms covered for them. (Were they employing a new method of searching crime scenes?)

*****

Speaking of crime fighting, on April 18, at approximately 4:00 pm, two plainclothes kops with a video camera were seen filming a squat building on East 10th Street. When asked why they were there, the kops, who verbally identified themselves as John McDonald (Badge #1113) and Jimmy Burns (Badge #8829), driving a black grand prix (Plate #B3R-192), said "we're conducting an investigation." When asked what kind of investigation, the kops said it was "to better the neighborhood!" They were then told that the best way they could "better" the neighborhood would be to drive away, and they did. Video kops have also been seen doing the same thing at other nearby squat buildings.

*****

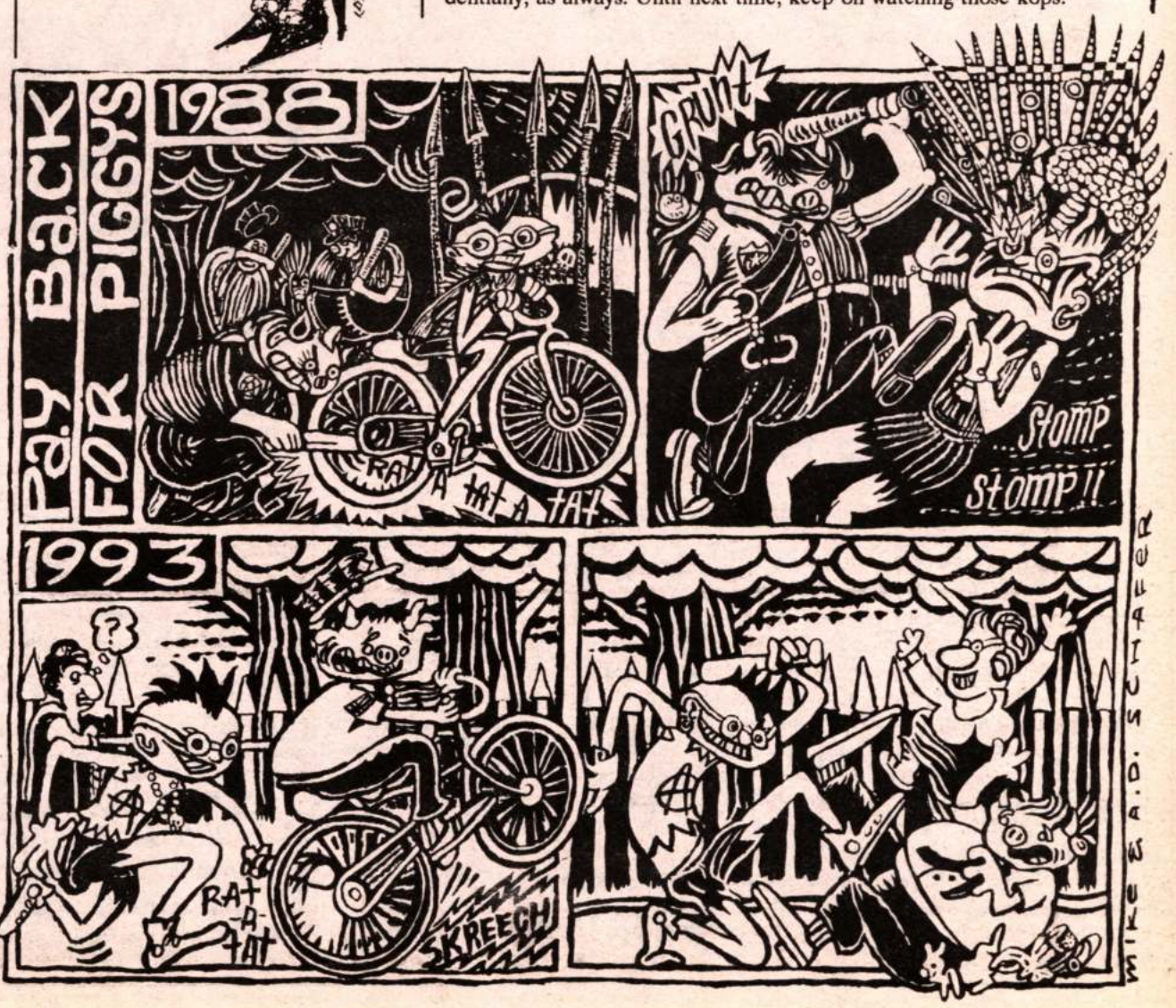
Kop watchers have seen kops riding specially-fitted kop bikes around the park. This caused an observer to wonder how the kops would feel if someone stuck a night stick in their spokes and then beat them senseless after falling to the ground, just like they did to several bicyclists during the 1988 Tompkins Square Pig Riot?

*****

So far, things have been quiet in the Tompkins Square area. Lots of new kop faces have been seen, but the commanders from last year are still around, like Lt. Heinz and Capt. Esposito. Kop watchers tell us that Capt. Hanley may be returned to the 9th precinct to deal with any future TSP protests. Kop watchers also tell us that kops have been maintaining their photo boards in the precinct to show new kops who's who--who to watch, who to harrass, who to bust on false charges, etc.

*****

As always, many thanks to all of our kop watchers who have been sending in reports, despite our vacation. We have tons of stuff to go through, and we'll be publishing a lot more in our next issues. If you have anything that you would like to see printed in the SHADOW and/or added to our files (stories, photos, names, badge numbers, addresses, telephone numbers, etc.), please send it all to the SHADOW. Everything will be treated confidentially, as always. Until next time, keep on watching those kops!



PHILLY DEMO TO FREE MUMIA!

By Barbara Lee

On December 9, people from all over the Northeast came to Philadelphia to gather and march in support of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia is a respected award winning journalist, political activist and former Black Panther who is now a political prisoner. He is on death row at Huntington Prison for allegedly killing a Philadelphia cop in 1982. Mumia was tried unfairly--evidence that would have proved his innocence was withheld and he was not allowed his own legal counsel. His trial is a good example of the mockery that is United States justice.

Mumia's case has become an international issue. Political prisoner support groups from all over the world, including PEN and Amnesty International have sent Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey letters, telegrams and petitions demanding that Mumia be spared and granted an appeal.

The wide range of supporters in the December march included members of MOVE, gay and lesbian group QUISP, New York and Philly anarchists, and Puerto Rican groups. They and former political prisoners Dhoruba Bin Wahad and Ramona Africa marched, as did activist Safiya Alston-Bukhari and Mumia's wife Wadiya, to a rally at City Hall.

Unlike New York City, there were few uniformed cops, but many plainclothes cops were present. They did not stop angry Mumia supporters from storming the steps of the DA's office. A negotiating team met in D.A. Abraham's office to seek an appeal for Mumia while others rallied on the stairs.

Ramona Africa, one of the survivors of the MOVE bombing by Philadelphia police, gave a fiery speech as undercover cops stood around her. Her years in prison did not quell her spirit. Dhoruba, who recently beat the system's attempt to re-imprison him, spoke inspiring words to keep support going for Mumia.

At the time of this writing, Gov. Casey has not yet signed the death warrant that will seal Mumia's fate. You can help by writing Governor Casey to at least prevent his death:

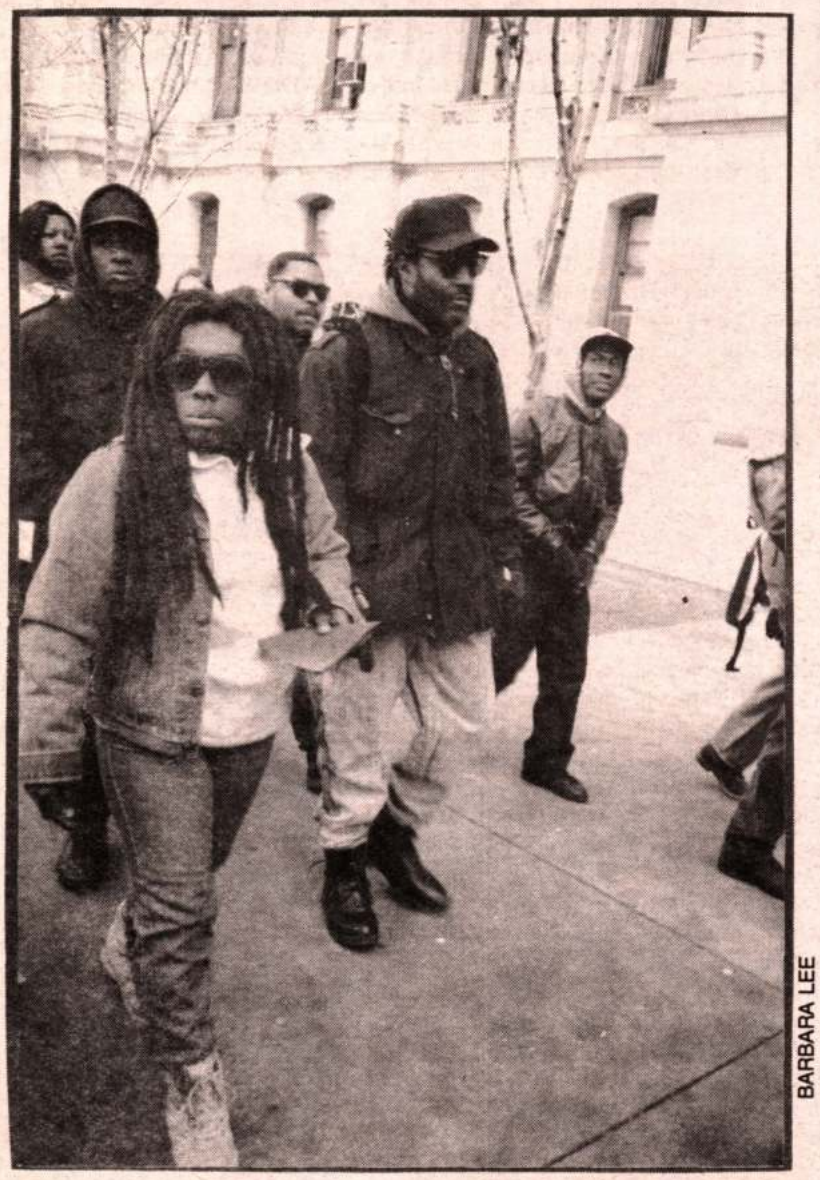
Governor Robert Casey
Main Capitol Building, Rm 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120

You can keep in touch with Mumia's status by contacting:

Q.U.I.S.P.
380 Bleecker St. #134
New York, NY 10014
(212)969-8598

You can write directly to Mumia at:

Mumia Abu-Jamal #AM-8335
Drawer R
Huntington, PA 16652



BARBARA LEE

RAMONA AFRICA AND DHORUBA BIN WAHAD MARCH IN PHILADELPHIA FOR MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

PETER LEVASSEUR

In response to the controversy surrounding singer Sinead O'Connor's ripping up a photograph of the Pope on Saturday Night Live, members of the "Sinead Brigade" met in front of the catholic church's headquarters, St. Patrick's church on Fifth Avenue, on October 25, where they all ripped up photocopies of the Pope, chairman of the world's largest tax-free global corporation, declaring that the church is "Anti-Woman, Anti-Sexuality, Anti-Science, and Anti-Reason."

PIGS OPEN FIRE ON JERSEY ANARCHIST BOOK STORE!!

By Chris Flash

On October 9, 1992, at about midnight, a report of gunshots was answered by a cop car in Paterson, New Jersey, which arrived and left after seeing nothing suspicious. About two hours later, members of the Paterson Anarchist Collective (PAC), a group associated with the North Jersey Anarchist Federation (NJAF), arrived at their new bookstore "Right To Existence," at 285 Preakness Avenue, which they were preparing for their opening date. They found their front door riddled with 8 bullet holes, and inside were books and magazines scattered on the floor.

Three days earlier, PAC members had been subjected to an illegal search and raid by Paterson pigs who ransacked the bookstore while claiming that they were seeking a stolen motorcycle pig's helmet. Two anarchists were roughed up in the process. When neighborhood residents gathered to see what was going on, the pigs quickly left, promising to get the store closed down. Further threatening the bookstore's safety was the discovery that a cop in the Sheriff's Office lives next door, a Paterson cop lives across the street, and cops own a delicatessen at the corner. To legally protect themselves, the anarchists filed charges against the cops.

After the October 19 shooting, PAC members went to the police station and related what took place three days earlier. When they voiced their suspicions that cops were behind the shooting, they were escorted out of the station by angry cops. Predictably, nothing has come of the complaints.

Since the raid and shooting, the Right To Existence bookstore has been thriving, selling books and zines, showing videos, and holding meetings and forums for political organizing. There have been no new attacks against the store, though pigs pass by more frequently than before, and cops continually come in to buy copies of PAC's newspaper, Plain Words. Despite the mostly conservative leaning of the neighborhood, they have been supportive of the bookstore.

For more information on PAC and NJAF, contact them through P.O. Box 8532, Haledon, NJ 07508-8532, or call Right To Existence at 201-790-3076.

(Some of the information for this report was culled from Plain Words, Issue #1)

ANNA SCHAFER

EVENTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

APRIL 30--MEDIA ALLIANCE FREE WORKSHOPS FOR NEW ARTISTS in various communities, providing info on low cost media equipment, residencies, publications, funding, festivals and more. Call Rebecca Schreiber at (212) 560-2919.

MAY 1--ANNUAL SQUATTER MAY DAY CONCERT--Various bands, speakers, literature tables. In Tompkins Square Park, 7th Street + Avenue A, At noon.

MAY 8--22nd ANNUAL FIFTH AVE POT PARADE--Lots of bands, guest speakers, hemp news, with free pot for all!! (Look for spe-cial event at 4:20PM sharp!!) Meet high noon in Washington Square Park for 5:00 march to Central Park where more pot will be smoked!!

MAY 16--TWO VIEWS OF WALL STREET TOUR--Two guides, one tour, two points of view of the Wall Street area as Ed O'Donnell of Big Onion Tours and Bruce Kayton of Radical Walking Tours fight it out to prove which guides tell the truth and which obscure it. At 1:00PM. For info and reservations, call (212) 439-1090.

MAY 16--RAINBOW PICNIC--Bring some food, musical instruments and love to share at this annual Spring potluck picnic and percussion jam with the Rainbow family. Info available here for upcoming national and regional gatherings. Noon-dusk in the field north of the great lawn. (You can use the 72nd Street entrances).

MAY 23--GREENWICH VILLAGE III RADICAL TOUR--Learn history of condoms, what brought Abbie Hoffman to NYC, Black history of Wash. Sq. Park, Gay + Lesbian 7 day sit-in at NYU, and more, with radical historian Bruce Kayton as your guide. Meet in front of Judson Memorial Church at 55 Washington Sq. South at 1:00PM. For info, call (212) 439-1090.

JUNE 6--CITY HALL AREA RADICAL TOUR--History of the subways, Socialist Party newspaper "The Call", African burial ground, Sacco-Vanzetti, the Brooklyn Bridge, and many City Hall demonstrations, with radical historian Bruce Kayton as your guide. Meet on City Hall steps at 1:00 PM. For info, call (212) 439-1090.

JUNE 12--GREENWICH VILLAGE I RADICAL TOUR--Learn about Weatherman Underground, Emma Goldman, John Reed, the Liberal Club, history of Wash. Sq. Park, the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire of 1911, and more, with radical historian Bruce Kayton as your guide. Meet under Washington Square Park arch at 1:00PM. For info, call (212)439-1090.

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

MID-ATLANTIC REGIONAL ANARCHIST GATHERING 1993: Philadelphia Anarchists are organizing 4 days of workshops, networking, music, schmoozing and cruising, sometime in July or August. They need help with organizing, publicity, money, etc. For info, call Wooden Shoe Books at (215)569-2477.

Continued On Back Page

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OTHER PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FROM SHADOW PRESS: (Free SHADOW included with each order)

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SQUATTER COMICS #2: (Available in May 1993) $2.00 + $1.00 postage

KILLER KOP KOMIX #1: (Available in June 1993) $2.00 + $1.00 postage

GEORGE BUSH: THE SUPER-SPY DRUG-SMUGGLING PRESIDENT: Everything you ever wanted to know about George Bush, past and present, 80 pages. $5.00 + $1.00 postage

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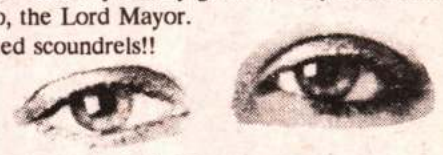
SHELTER WATCHER

"COALITION FOR THE HOMELESS": Recently mostly given to very mild commentary on the homeless "policies" of their hero, the Lord Mayor.

Verdict: A pack of unprincipled scoundrels!!

(Contact: Bob 326-2401)



Which brings us to:

"LEGAL ACTION CENTER FOR THE HOMELESS": Much in the public eye recently with their ostentatious and media conscious "actions" against the City to "downsize" the armory shelters. These consist of asking HRA, their supposed "adversary" in these show trial farces, to move the drug infested sociopath shelter population from Upper Manhattan and Brooklyn locations down into, for one, our neighborhood, i.e., the Kenton Hotel, at 333 Bowery!

These "activists", it would seem, have but recently decided to press this issue, i.e., overcrowding, after a lapse of some 8 years (the shelter capacity limits were promulgated in 1983), for reasons best known to themselves. When requested to act along these lines with respect to the Bellevue Shelter some three years ago, their response was "we don't get involved in the shelters" -- (it would seem that they had more important business then, i.e., demanding that the subway panhandlers be given free rein!)

This outfit disposes of enormous "clout" having on their board heavy representation from academia -- Hunter College (Dr. David Tobis), CUNY Law School (Steven Loffredo) and from some of the most prestigious law firms in town -- Sullivan & Cromwell; Milbank, Tweed; Cleary, Gottlieb (Mitchell Lowenthal) -- as well as contacts with the national media -- Time Warner (Richard Stengel).

Reputedly, such is their influence that they are in the enviable position of picking their own "tame" judge for their actions againsts the City. The favoritism displayed towards them in their most recent action, Tolle v. Dinkins, Index No. 15508, was such as to give considerable credence to this claim.

Some of their executive staff, it would seem, have recently decided to move more directly into the "service-provider" field, becoming directors of yet another not-for-profit(?), "Common Ground Community". This was launched in 1991 as what appears to be a management group for the newly refurbished "Times Square Hotel" in mid-town. They have former HPD Commissioner Paul Crotty, a partner of the Donovan, Leisure law firm acting as their legal counsel and former CIA head William Colby sits on their board. A joint effort with Metropolitan Life Insurance's Real Estate Division, it is intended to be an income-producing low income housing facility -- (they have already received a $20 million grant from HPD).

Well, if nothing else, guys, it will mean another salary at the very least!

And, certainly, not least, another significant influence which the "Action Center" has is with the ever-growing "underclass" -- (not all of whom are poor and homeless by any means) -- at their legal "clinics" held regularly at City soup kitchens. This activity, you can believe, is not entirely service oriented as it fulfills one of their key, if unspoken, roles -- i.e., that of acting as a "camarilla", or link if you will, between this potentially very volatile group and the agents and myrmidons of Hizzoner, the Lord Mayor -- (look for this role to take on added significance in 1993).

(Contact: Doug 229-2080)

(It's great to be back in harness. Look for a regular column from "Shelter Watcher" in the SHADOW in the months ahead.)

MALCOLM X

Continued From Page 9

The Committee's Final Report stressed that the former head of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division described these programs as "rough, tough, dirty, and dirty business." As it stated, "Actions were taken which were designed to...encourage gang warfare between violent rival groups." One graphic example of the use of such technique was the exploitation of differences between the Black Panthers and US, Inc., which resulted in the murders of at least four Panthers. *(Editor's note: According to "Agents of Repression: The FBI's secret wars against the Black Panthers and the American Indian Movement" by Ward Churchill + Jim Vanderwall, South End Press, 1988, US (United Slaves), a black cultural nationalist group based in Southern California, was manipulated by the FBI into attacking and killing Black Panthers, ostensibly for their alliance with the white radical youth and anti-war movements.)* A memorandum from the Bureau's Los Angeles Division to Hoover on May 26, 1970, stressed that it "is aware of the mutually hostile feelings harbored between the organizations and the first opportunity to capitalize on the situation will be maximized. It is intended that US, Inc. will be appropriately and discreetly advised of the time and location of BPP activities in order that the two organizations might be brought together and thus grant nature the opportunity to take her due course."

Parenthetically, I had met Malcolm at John F. Kennedy Airport, hours before his house was firebombed, and he told me that he had had a recent telephone conversation with Dr. King, during which a merger of their efforts was discussed. They had talked about King concentrating on the South and Malcolm on the North. They planned to get together shortly in order to see whether such an arrangement was possible. Given J. Edgar Hoover's often expressed fear of the "rise of a Black messiah," it is a given that any rapproachment between these two charismatic leaders was unthinkable to him. Since the FBI regularly tapped King's telephones, it is highly likely that its Director knew of this conversation. Whether it played any role in Malcolm's assassination is clearly a matter of conjecture.

What is undeniable, however, is that, while Thomas Hagan and his accomplices may have pulled the triggers that ended Malcolm's life, the atmosphere of hate and suspicion created by the Bureau played a major part in leading up to the bloody confrontation that took place at the Audubon twenty-five years ago.

(Mr. Kunstler is a founder, vice-president, and volunteer staff attorney of the New York based Center for Constitutional Rights. In Spike Lee's "Malcolm X," he plays the role of the Massachusetts judge who sentenced Malcolm X to a prison sentence of eight to ten years in 1946.)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SHADOW PRESS
P.O. BOX 20298,
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

Dear SHADOW,
Daniel Rakowitz and Councilman Antonio Pagan are both in the same class, i.e. cannibals. One sits in jail and awaits a sanity hearing while the other sits on the City Council.
How is this possible? Pagan appears outwardly as a sane reasonable man because his cannibalism is rationalized. Pagan wears the mask of sanity and wears it well. To those who openly endorse his developer cannibalism of the poor and homeless, he appears indeed as Sanity Claus himself.
Discovery,
Sidney Simon, NYC

****

Hey Folks At SHADOW,
This past month, my friends and I started a squat. So far it's going well, except we have no heat, gas or running water. Within the first week, the water company was on to our pirating and they put a big padlock on the switch. It just makes it more of a challenge to us....
While looking for a squat, we found some info about the insidious nature of gentrification in Seattle. We noticed that property values in the C.D. (Central District--one of the few central city neighborhoods that's not been yuppified) started going way up in 1989-92. We looked further and found that land values were jumping while house values were going way down. It was a trend in all the homes we checked out. Then we discovered that in 1989 the City Council changed the zoning in the C.D. from single family homes to multi-family structures.
For some scum fuck landowner this means more profit to let houses become abandoned, deteriorate, and then sell the land for a huge profit ('cause when house values go down, land values rise accordingly) and build even more condos! That is one more reason to squat--fight gentrification and get free rent.
Sofia, Seattle, Washington

****

To the Editor:
As a whistleblower against the utility industry, I constantly hear complaints of waste, skyrocketing costs and disregard for the human condition from area customers who feel they are being continuously robbed by the monopolies that they are dependent on for electricity, gas, water, phone, and cable. Their only defense is the Public Service Commission, a body supposedly elected by the people to protect people's rights rather than those same monopolies' interests who some say place them in office. I now wonder about this system.
A week before the primary, I realized that nothing would change with the election. Democrat incumbent Steve Hewitt would automatically resume another six year term, since no one was running in either primary against him. I thought it would be simple to get 25 write-in votes to win the Republican primary since no one was running. Then an aggressive campaign could be launched giving the people a choice between someone many are not pleased with and someone utility companies would prefer not be in a position of authority over them. However, only 6 of my votes were counted (5 and 1 at two of the 35 precincts). People claim to have written my name in at Putnam County voting precincts where 0 votes were reported cast, including Bussell, where my wife and I voted for me.
I am not sure whether I got the necessary 25 votes or not, but based on the number of people who claim to have voted for me and who are all truthful individuals, it was at least 2 more than the 6 reported since I saw both my and my wife's ballots as they were cast and not recorded in Putnam County, I suspect many other votes may have also been ignored.
If honesty had been upheld in the voting and I had received the honor of serving the people of Tennessee on the PSC, I would have done my best. When a manager is nicknamed "Executive Pimp," Power Company Presidents dispatch corporate jets 300 miles for a batch of home-baked cookies, departmental offices are repainted two days in a row because the manager didn't like the shade, $350,000 worth of structural steel is scrapped, etc, all such activities must somehow figure into the little guy's light bill.
G.W.Brown, Baxter, Tennessee

****

Hi!
The reason I'm writing is that I'd like to learn some things about the anarchists in New York and the USA in general--how many anarchists and anti-system people are in New York, what they do, some information about the squats in New York, if there are any nazis in New York.
Fanis Mitsis, 57 Sivoron Street, Lambrini, Athens, Greece, 11142

****

Dear SHADOW:
Cops are really dumb to work for paper when the constitution mandates gold and silver coins.
Winston Smith, Orwellian Times, Box 22431, St. Louis, MO 63126

****

Dear Friends,
I have been involved lately with a group of low-income and homeless folks. It appears that the problems here are basically the same as most, if not all, urban areas of this country. There are many, many boarded-up buildings in the city of Springfield, and there are many, many people sleeping in the streets and under bridges.
As is usually the case, the homeless issue in Springfield has been "controlled" by agencies, and all of a sudden these agencies claim to be overwhelmed, have lost a lot of money, and are planning to cut both the homeless shelter and soup kitchen programs. It seems like it's time for the homeless in Springfield to take control of their situation and start doing some militant actions.
Brian, Amherst, Massachusetts

****

Dear SHADOW,
Your column "Know Your Enemy" is a good one, but it might be a good idea to go beyond the "henchmen" and start with mug shots of the Fortune 500 and addresses.
Carol, NYC

****

Dear SHADOW,
We are a group of squatters in Vancouver concerned with the steady growth of homelessness and rapid decline of housing. We are trying to establish a network that would enable us to communicate between cities, providing shelter for travelers who are unfamiliar with a certain place.
Our short term goals and what we are trying to achieve are:
To keep squatters aware and organized
To raise awareness and educate the general public
To help squatters with legal difficulties and rights
To produce a quarterly newsletter on rights, tips, info, ideas on maintenance and locks, etc.
If anyone can help, please write. We are also trying to put together a listings guide for free services in different cities, so please send us any listings. Anything would be appreciated.
International Squatters Network, 1237 Richards Street, Vancouver, B.C., V6B, 3G3, Canada

PRISONER MAIL

Yo SHADOW,
I think the pigs here are fucking with my mail and reading and photocopying all the radical stuff so they can possibly use it against me when I go to the parole board! I may be wrong, but likely not. I don't trust pigs.
Joe, Napanoch, New York

****

Dear Friends:
Because I serving a LIFE sentence for a mere cocaine possession and am being subjected to the most abominable conditions imaginable (brutal beatings, confinement to solitary, perpetual harrassment, no opportunity for educational achievement, and I could go on & on endlessly), I would appreciate donations of any type of legal self-help manuals which might assist me in attacking my conviction or in addressing the illegal conditions of my confinement. I will gladly accept used, damaged, out-of-date, etc texts -- unlike most other prisons, I am able to receive hard cover books.
Brett C. Malone #537131-A, P.O.Box 16, Eastham Unit, Lovelady, Texas, 75851

****

I'm down 28 months on 3½-7 years, convicted of possession of 1 pound or more, which includes all stalks, stems, and internal plant water (close to 95% of living plants weight), due to aggregate weight in New York State's marihuana statutes. Thus, turning a fine, or low level "criminal" possession charge into a major felony.
Another miscarraige of justice is piss-testing parolees and temporary release individuals and then locking them back up for years at taxpayers' expense, when a "normal" citizen wouldn't even get a fine!
Wayne, Marcy, New York

****

SHADOW,
Thank you for sending issue #27 of the SHADOW which was intended for me. Unfortunately, it never reached me. I am inclined to believe that the pigs here decided it wasn't suitable reading material for an inmate and decided to keep it for themselves. This is the only New York State prison that lacks a prisoner unity. It's more along the lines of every man for himself. So the administration can basically do whatever they want here and not fear a retaliation from the inmates, cause they are too busy fighting each other.
Howard, Coxsackie, New York

****

Hey Bruthas and Sistas,
I'm broke-busted and slammed down in an 8x9 cell at the Utah State Prison doughnut factory. I've been held against my will in this shitbox for 6 years and 9 months. In 1986, the pigs snatched me up after I blew up a cop car, and after a few months in jail I was herded off to this racist prison.
I'm moving to NYC to my old squat when I get out in April, so hopefully I can meet you dirty squatters.
Jimi Germ, Draper, Utah

****

Dear SHADOW,
Just as your motto says "Information Is Strength, Knowledge Is Power", that is why I'm in here, being arrested by the FBI who thinks I am part of the "PPK" (or Kurdistan Honor Guard, in English).
They are an information gathering organization for the military and civilian government of the Kurd people. Anyway, the FBI arrested 30 people they thought were involved and while they couldn't really pin it on us, they gave us other types of charges instead, like bank robbery, or conspiracy to overthrow the government, which of course is bullshit.
Larry, Lompoc, California

****

Sending out an "S.O.S."
I'm an anarchist from the San Francisco Bay Area, being held as a POW in this prehistoric, fascist, racist Arizona police state. I'm doing 15 calendar years for burglary because I refused to turn "state's evidence" and send my cohorts to prison. So they took the easy way out and got immunity from prosecution in exchange for their co-operation. I was only 18 years old at the time and didn't know they could convict you on the uncorroborated testimony of an accomplice. I learned the hard way. There was never anything to think about though; I'd die before I'd ever send another man to prison. And so, I consider myself a "prisoner of conscience."
That was in 1982 and I've been learning ever since. Aside from an 18 month "furlough" I took as an escaped fugitive, I've been locked up all this time. I'm something of a management problem for these people, and they've got me permanently housed in their supermaximum security "Control Unit" in virtual solitary confinement. I haven't seen daylight in over 2 years now, and my release date is November 1998.
Everyone wants me to write about prison, and so I've decided to do so. But I need your help. Donations (Money orders, stamps) will be used to buy supplies, writing materials, books to further my subversive educational endeavors. I also need a source for photocopies, that I can mail stuff to and get copies sent back to me.
Moral support is greatly appreciated as well, and your correspondence, flyers, artwork, etc are most welcome. I'll definitely write back, but need stamps to do so.
Gregory Waleski #47190, Arizona State Prison, P.O.Box 4000, Florence, Arizona, 85232

****

Dear SHADOW,
Eight out of ten black males in the U.S. are in penitentiaries around the country. Anything you may have on this subject and more, please rush them along with your newsletter, books, mags, etc.
If you know where I can get hold of books or zines on Fred Hampton, George Jackson, Johntan Jackson, Malcolm X, etc, I'm always ready for more knowledge and wisdom.
Kevin Blue Sky #175414-5-C-115, J.C.C.C., Jefferson City, MO 65102, P.O.Box 900

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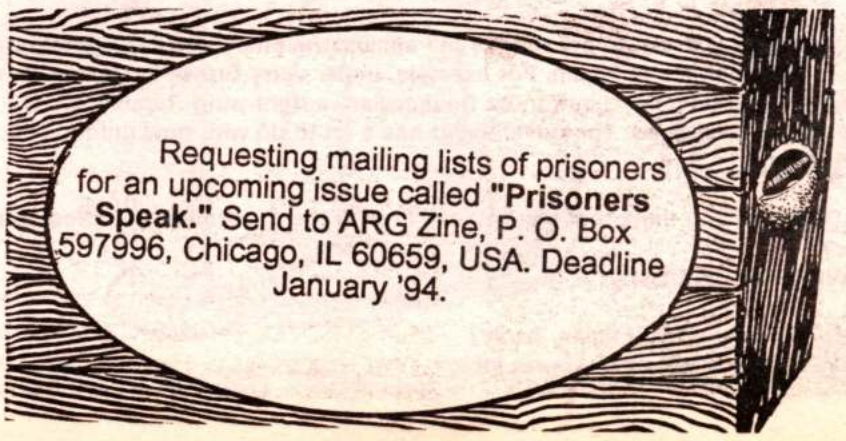
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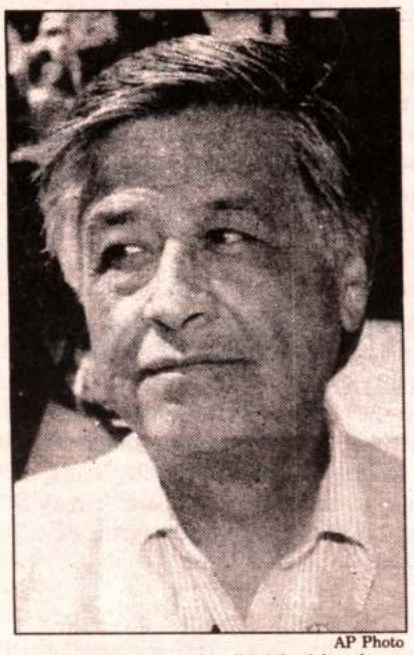
INTERVIEW

CESAR CHAVEZ: 1927-1993

Cesar Chavez, United Farm Workers Union organizer and political activist, was found dead on April 23, apparently of natural causes. Spending his childhood as a migrant worker, Chavez used his life savings upon leaving the Navy after World War II to begin organizing farmworkers into a union. In the 1960s, the UFW called for a massive boycott of grapes to bring attention to low wages and poor working conditions of migrant workers. In 1970, a grape and lettuce boycott forced California growers to sign collective bargaining agreements with the UFW.



AP Photo
Chavez apparently died in his sleep Thursday night in San Luis, Arizona.

Most recently, Chavez and the UFW have again called for a grape boycott due to cancer-causing pesticides killing farm workers. In California's San Joaquin Valley, noted for its table grapes, the cancer rate of children of farm workers is 1200 percent higher than the national average. The current boycott covers California grapes only, not wines, jams or raisins. The UFW points out that pesticides are as much a hazard for consumers as for those who pick grapes for a living. Union demands call for a ban on five specific pesticides, a pesticide testing program, and an agreement by growers for collective bargaining and union elections free from intimidation.

Not surprisingly, in the aftermath of Chavez' death, most of the mainstream media has focused on his past struggles, not mentioning the current boycott campaign. For your own safety and the safety of farm workers and in memory of Cesar Chavez, you should boycott California grapes.

The following interview with Cesar Chavez took place in New York City on December 16, 1992, when Chavez was here to promote the UFW's *grape boycott.*

SHADOW: How would you say that the struggles of farm workers in the United States today differ from the struggles in the 1960's which made you famous?
CHAVEZ: The struggle is pretty much the same. The environment is not the same as in the '60's when everyone was out in the streets demonstrating-today we don't see that. But I think we're doing much the same. We do it better now. We've learned a lot. We're one of the few organizations that's still around that started in the early '60's. I think the opposition has learned a lot too, about how to fight us back. It's still very difficult, but they haven't destroyed us-we're still around.

SHADOW: Do you think that the Reagan/Bush years have hurt the farm workers' movement?
CHAVEZ: Definitely, definitely! We've been the object of numerous investigations, particularly by Reagan.

SHADOW: What sort of investigations?
CHAVEZ: Looking into how we spend our money, trying to find anything that's wrong. We were investigated for about eight years, they didn't find anything and finally they gave up. We had a lot of problems with the Reagan courts.

SHADOW: What was the outcome of the investigations?
CHAVEZ: There never were any charges. They thought that if they just investigated enough they would find something. They were just trying to pin something on us, and eventually they gave up. It took up a lot of our time and effort because they had numerous questions about money. You wouldn't believe it-it was total harassment, pure harassment. Under Bush it let up a little bit, but still it was bad.

SHADOW: Do you think that it will be different under the next administration?
CHAVEZ: Oh, yes. I don't think the new administration would do that sort of thing, and they couldn't get away with it if they did.

SHADOW: The labor movement has declined drastically over the past twelve years. Do you think that it will pick up again in the next few years?

CHAVEZ: Yes. It declined because of the administrations. If we have good laws, of course it will pick up again. For example, under Jerry Brown in California, our union reached its height, but under Deukmajian, a right-wing Republican, we were almost destroyed. The government has a lot to do with how unions can operate.

SHADOW: Do you think that the Mexican Free Trade Agreement will affect farm labor?
CHAVEZ: Yes, and badly.

SHADOW: How do you mean, badly?
CHAVEZ: Very simply-jobs, fewer jobs.

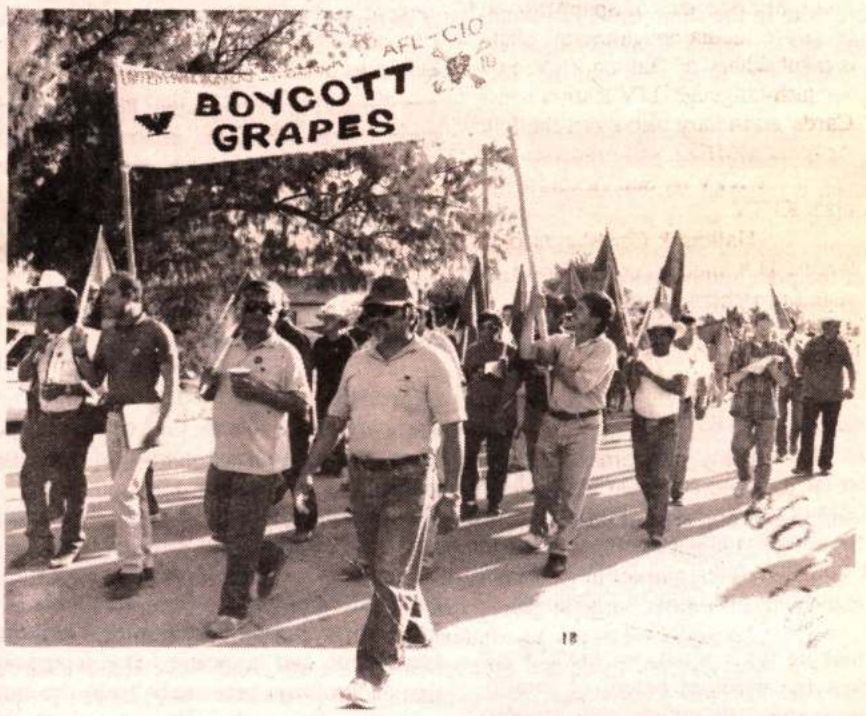
SHADOW: Is there a support network for the farm workers today like there was in the 1960's?
CHAVEZ: Yes. We have many different categories of support groups-professional people, people who give us money, people who volunteer from us, and of course, people who boycott grapes. If you count the people who don't eat grapes, I'd estimate the support network at about 15 million.

SHADOW: What do you think the biggest problem facing farm workers today is?
CHAVEZ: The biggest problem is that many farm workers still don't have unions to protect themselves. We're excluded from major legislation protecting the right to organize. We're up against an industry that absolutely won't tolerate unions, that will do anything to destroy a union. In order to build a union, we have to go to the public-get them to boycott grapes so that we can build a union. We in the UFW are the only ones who have done it, and we've done it by going to the public.

SHADOW: Has the ethnic background of farm workers changed over the years?
CHAVEZ: No, it's still basically the same-Third World, poor, and it's been that way for many years.

SHADOW: What do you think is the best thing people in New York City can do to support the farm workers?
CHAVEZ: Don't eat grapes. That is the best thing. An effective boycott settles a lot of scores. It's very difficult to understand the power of boycotts, but they're very, very effective-stronger than a strike any day, more telling. Our experience has been that we get more from boycotts than from anything else.

SHADOW: Do you think that the growth of agribusiness, large scale agriculture, has affected farm workers adversely?
CHAVEZ: It's all agribusiness, it's been agribusiness for many years. Twenty percent of the farms produce eighty percent of the crops. Huge corporations control agribusiness, along with their supporters in transportation, fertilizers, pesticides, and finance. They're a very powerful lobby and they often work in concert against unions. Our union is the biggest enemy that they have. There's nothing as bad for them as our union. We've been the subject of a lot of abuse, a lot of political decisions by courts, a lot of arrests, on the part of the powers that be. In our communities, everything is owned, operated, and controlled by the growers. They tell everybody from the city council to the judge what to do, when to do it, and how to do it. That makes it very difficult to operate.



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CHANNEL 41 AND ITS HALLMARK CARDS CONNECTION

By Upton Roosevelt

"For Hallmark ... biggest deals to date have been the purchase of Univision, the largest Spanish-language TV network, as well as TV stations that broadcast in Spanish in San Francisco, Miami, New York, Los Angeles, and six other cities ... The Hall family is noted for ... keeping a low profile." **--Everybody's Business in 1990**

Although the Kansas City, Missouri-based Hallmark Cards Inc. business of the Hall family is more famous for selling greeting cards than for its interest in the welfare and empowerment of Spanish-speaking people in the United States, the Spanish-language media conglomerate that owns Channel 41 -- WXTV -- Univision Holdings -- is a subsidiary of Hallmark Cards. In addition to owning the New York City area Spanish-language TJV station which broadcasts from Paterson, New Jersey, Hallmark Cards' subsidiary also owns the following other U.S. Spanish-language TV stations: Los Angeles' KMEX; San Francisco's KDTV; Dallas-Fort Worth's KUVN; Miami's WLTV; Phoenix's KTVW; San Antonio's WKEX; Albuquerque's KLUZ; and Fresno, California's KFTV.

Hallmark Cards' control of 9 Spanish-language TV stations makes it the 8th largest U.S. media conglomerate, in terms of percentage of U.S. households its television programming can reach. Nearly 11% of all U.S. households are within range of a Hallmark Cards-owned television station. More Spanish-speaking television viewers can be reached by Hallmark Cards' Univision TV-broadcasting operation than by Saul Steinberg's Telemundo TV-broadcasting operation.

Hallmark Cards' History

Hallmark Cards Inc. was founded by Mr. Joyce Hall and his brother almost 80 years ago and it started selling greeting cards in 1915. Utilizing primarily female employees and skillful radio advertising to get primarily female greeting card consumers to prefer Hallmark-manufactured cards, the Hall family's business was somehow able to corner the U.S. market in greeting card sales. After World War II, it experienced especially enormous business growth during the 1950's.

Around 40% of the $3.7 billion worths of U.S. greeting cards that are purchased each year are made and sold by Hallmark cards. And, since Hallmark hasn't had to worry too much about keeping its greeting card prices down because of economic competition from many other greeting card industry firms, Hallmark can make a huge super-profit on every greeting card it sells to the stores that, in turn, sell the greeting card to you.

Although Hallmark founder, Mr. Joyce Hall, began letting his son, Donald Hall, run the family business in 1966, Joyce Hall continued to serve as the Chairman of the Board of Hallmark until the early 1980's. After Joyce Hall's death, his son, Donald Hall, became Hallmark's Chairman of the Board.

In its May 26, 1988 issue, the **Wall Street Journal** reported that the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) was charging the heirs of Joyce Hall with owing "more than $200 million in taxes" on the Hallmark Cards wealth they inherited from their father. According to the 1990 edition of **Everybody's Business**, two-thirds of Hallmark Cards' stock is owned by Joyce Hall's three children. Around $560 million worth of Hallmark Cards stock is owned by Donald Hall. Joyce Hall's two daughters -- Barbara Halla and Elizabeth Hall -- each own around $285 million worth of Hallmark Cards stock.

U.S. bank directors also sit alongside Donald Hall on the Hallmark Cards board of directors. In the early 1980's, for instance, Bank of America Director Franklin Murphy and Irving Trust Director W. Clark Wescoe sat on the Hallmark Cards corporate board. In the 1990's, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Director John Mascotte and Commerce Bancshares Director Morton Susland have sat on the Hallmark Cards corporate board in recent years. Other U.S. corporations with directors sitting on the Hallmark Cards board of directors in recent years have included BellSouth, United Telecommunications, Duke Power, Armco, Continental Corporation and Ford Motor Corporation.

One reason why Hallmark Cards chose to take over the U.S.A.'s most powerful Spanish-language TV broadcasting network and TV stations in the 1980's was because it wished to reduce its dependence on greeting card sales alone for its profitability. In addition to purchasing its Spanish-language TV stations and the Univision network during the 1980's, Hallmark Cards also purchased the manufacturer of Crayola crayons -- Binney & Smith -- in 1984. Four out of every five crayons that are sold in the U.S. each year are presently manufactured by Hallmark Cards' Crayola subsidiary. In early 1990, Hallmark also purchased a manufacturer of stuffed animals and toys called Dakin, Inc.

Hallmark's Post-1987 Media Investments

Hallmark Cards' purchase of Channel 41 and other Spanish-language TV stations from Spanish International Communications for $301.5 million, as well as its purchase of another Spanish-language TV station from Bohia de San Francisco Television, was approved by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in June of 1987. At the time Hallmark Cards' purchase of its TV stations won FCC approval, the **Wall Street Journal** also revealed that the First Capital Corporation affiliate of Chicago's First National Bank was also going to own a 25% share of Hallmark's media conglomerate.

After receiving FCC approval to acquire the Spanish International Communications TV stations, Hallmark Cards made a deal in November 1987 to acquire the Spanish-language network programming firm operated by Univis SA -- Univision -- which provided Spanish-language programming to Hallmark's newly-acquired television stations. Hallmark's TV stations and its Univision network programming operation were then combined into the Hallmark Cards subsidiary, Univision Holdings, Inc.

In its January 23, 1989 issue, the **Wall Street Journal** noted that Hallmark's Univision Holdings Inc. was "the largest Spanish-language network and television station group in the U.S.," that "the Hispanic market ... has close to 20 million people now," and that "advertisers spent ... $500 million in various Hispanic media last year -- half that on TV, primarily on Univision's network and on the one operated by its smaller rival, Reliance Group Holdings Inc.'s Telemundo Group," which Saul Steinberg owns. The **Wall Street Journal** also reported that in 1988 Hallmark's Univision subsidiary took in $150 million from its Spanish-language television operation in advertising revenue and that Hallmark's Univision and Steinberg's Telemundo "are also working on a joint marketing presentation to potential advertisers such as the auto industry."

In its January 23, 1989 issue, the **Wall Street Journal** also observed that Hallmark's Univision was working with Time-Warner's Whittle Communications "to produce a Hispanic women's magazine -- to be distributed to 10,500 locations such as beauty parlors and doctors' offices -- that will include ads for Univision programs; Univision, in turn, will run commercials for the magazine's advertisers." The **Wall Street Journal** also reported that Hallmark Cards' Univision planned to launch in September 1989 "a quarterly controlled-circulation magazine called **Ahora** ... which will feature profiles, lifestyle articles and features on sports and entertainment" and "will be mailed free to 500,000 subscribers solicited via on-air commercial, special coupon and event promotion."

But in its October 23, 1989 issue, **Business Week** noted that although Hallmark's Univision took in $160 million in advertising revenue from its TV operation in 1989, it was still having difficulty paying back the $500 million in junk-bond debts that Hallmark had acquired in order to finance its 1987 purchase of its Spanishs-language media conglomerate. Yet, since "Hispanics have $171 billion in buying power," Hallmark's Univision still hoped, according to **Business Week**, to persuade more U.S. corporations to purchase advertising time on Spanish-language television.

In addition to owning Channel 41 and the Univision Holdings media conglomerate, Hallmark Cards also owns Crown Cable Inc., which operates about 100 cable systems in Wisconsin, Alabama, California, Coloroado, Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas for about 700,000 cable-TV subscribers.

Despite Hallmark Cards Inc.'s special economic interest in Spanish-language television and Spanish-language electronic journalism, **the SHADOW** has not learned whether the members of the Hall dynasty that owns Channel 41 are able to speak Spanish.

(OFFICER LACKEY FORMERLY OF TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK)

HAITIAN REFUGEES MOUNT HUNGER STRIKE IN U.S. RUN HIV-DETENTION CAMP

By Paul DeRienzo

PAUL DERIENZO

SPEC. 4 DON COLE (2/10/93)

The simmering crisis in the Caribbean nation of Haiti is reaching a boiling point that is presenting President Bill Clinton with one of the first major tasks of his new administration. Nearly 300 Haitian refugees who tested positive for HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, are being held at a U.S. military base at Guantanamo Bay in eastern Cuba. Since January the refugees have been on a hunger strike to pressure the Clinton administration into allowing them to enter the United States.

Thousands of Haitian people who risked death at sea in rickety boats fleeing their homeland last year were interned under orders from then President Bush. Most have been returned to Haiti but those refugees testing positive for HIV have been kept in detention because of a U.S. law excluding people with AIDS from entering this country. These refugees have proved they face political persecution in Haiti and can't be returned, yet they are now in legal limbo, unable to enter the United States.

Refugees at the HIV detainment camp, known as Camp Bulkeley, say that they are being held under 24-hour guard, in rundown wooden barracks, surrounded by barbed wire. Conditions at the camp sparked a rebellion last July during which a three-month-old infant died. The father blamed the child's death on U.S. military authorities who command more than 200 troops in a "joint task force" of Army, Navy and Air Force police that runs the camp. Authorities denied charges that soldiers struck the child, claiming the infant died from complications due to AIDS.

The refugees told reporters and lawyers, who won a legal battle to force the military to let them visit Guantanamo, that they were protesting the dismal conditions of their internment at Camp Bulkeley. Attorney Michael Wishni who visited the camp in December reported thousands of huge and ferocious banana rats infesting the barracks. Wishni says that dozens of refugees live with little or no privacy and several unaccompanied adolescents who have tested positive for HIV are forced to live together with adults. According to Wishni, medical care is virtually non-existent. He says tests needed to treat AIDS must be sent to the United States and weeks and months pass before results are returned.

The account of one former guard at Camp Bulkeley is an indictment of conditions at the camp. Air Force Security Police officer Don Cole was arrested and disciplined for refusing an order to pick-up his rifle during the July disturbance. Cole insists that he was within his rights to refuse the order because he believes it was unlawful. Cole maintains that the riot was started by soldiers who beat a demonstrator who tried to run past a cordon of soldiers. Cole said, "I had to check his competency," referring to the sergeant who gave the order to take up the rifles. But Cole's commanding officer didn't didn't see things the same way and Cole was arrested, given an Article 15, which is a bad conduct report, fined $500 and put on probation. Cole says he was told by his commanding officer that, "if you are ordered to napalm a school, you do it."

After three days in jail Cole was shipped back to the United States where he was handed an administrative discharge. According to a Pentagon spokesman, the Air Force's discharge of Cole wasn't based on the incident at Guantanamo, but on the number of bad conduct reports in Cole's file.

However, Cole believes that, along with the refugees, he is the victim of racism. He says that a white sergeant who also refused the order to get guns was never punished. Cole contacted the NAACP and demanded that the Air Force investigate the incident. Despite Cole's charge that his superiors, including two white sergeants, never missed a chance to humiliate and harass the refugees, the outcome of the Air Force investigation into the incident was "inconclusive" and had no effect on his discharge.

Cole says he thought he was going to Guantanamo on a humanitarian mission, but he likened his duties to those of a prisoner of war camp guard. Cole accuses white soldiers at Guantanamo of beating Haitians, rubbing the face of a youth in mud because he urinated in the wrong place, drinking on duty and provoking the refugees during protests staged against their internment. He says that the violence in July at Camp Bulkeley could have been avoided but that the sergeants in charge had been spoiling for a fight with the Haitians.

An Air Force spokesperson told **The Planet** that a judgment of whether an order is illegal can only be made by a commanding officer and not an individual soldier. However, Cole continues to insist that his actions were prudent. "A few soldiers were hurt and that's unfortunate," Cole says, but, "It would be worse to comply with an illegal order and escalate unnecessary violence."

In an echo of the Pentagon's censoring of information from the battlefield during the Persian Gulf War, Cole says that his good relations with the Haitians in the camp often prompted the military to use him as a spokesperson when the media came to the camps. During one visit by CNN camera crews, Cole says, his commanders "told me I wasn't to say anything bad about the military. If I had to lie, I was supposed to lie."

The existence of the HIV-camp, which was set up in February 1992, has drawn sharp international criticism. According to Michael Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights, who represents the refugees, "the HIV exclusion is being used to discredit the legitimate claims of Haitian refugees for asylum in the United States". Ratner adds that the policy is "arbitrary and discriminatory use of the law," and he points out that Cuban refugees are never tested for HIV when they enter the country.

Shortly after President Clinton reaffirmed his campaign promise to do away with the HIV exclusion rule, the United States Senate voted by a wide margin to make the exclusion the law. A law, unlike a rule, can't be overturned by a Presidential decree. The next step is consideration by the House of Representatives, afterward the President can either sign the law or veto it.

PARTIAL VICTORY FOR NIGERIAN ANARCHISTS

By Bob McGlynn

Anarchist revolutionary political prisoners from Nigeria's Awareness Leage (AL) -- Udemba Chuks, Garba Adu, Kingsley Etioni, and James Ndubuisi -- won some reprieve January 29th when they were conditionally released on bail (they must report to the State Security Service each week). Arrested seven months ago during a wave of worker/student unrest protesting International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank-imposed austerity plans, they were detained under the notorious "Decree #2" -- a catch-all "preventative detention" law.

At a Calabar court hearing January 25th, their lawyer, Ifeanyi Nnajiofor, demanded a grant of bail. On hand were 100 AL members plus, according to a February 1 AL communique, "scores of journalists, activists, members of the Nigerian Bar Association, and interested members of the public." Then, on January 29th, "we won our greatest legal battle yet ... [when for] the first time we would set our eyes on them in seven months. They looked badly emaciated, weak and sick." Setting a legal precedent poking a hole in Decree #2, the judge granted bail, and set the next court appearance for February 18th. Then, as the four left court, "there was an attempt to have our colleagues rearrested outside the premises, but this was stoutly resisted by the crowd." They were then promptly hospitalized and advised to have a two-week stay.

The AL has information that the military may try to have the men rearrested once again. This would not be uncommon in Nigeria where the judiciary and the military are constantly at odds. As of February 28th, their bail was still extended, but they must see State Security each day. Three remain hospitalized.

The U.S. Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA) and Neither East Nor West-NYC (NENW-NYC) have successfully spearheaded a worldwide campaign for the AL. A week of protest at Nigerian embassies was called for February 22-26 with confirmations of actions by anarchists in Moscow, Dublin, NYC, Berlin, London, Rio de Janeiro and Hamburg. (Anarchists were ready to demonstrate in countries like Bulgaria and Norway, but they lacked Nigerian targets.) Petitions and protest letters have been received from Turkey, South Korea, Russia, Italy, Brazil, Canada, India, Estonia, Spain, Ireland, Norway, Holland, Japan, Argentina, Poland, the U.S., South Africa, Bulgaria, Germany and the U.K. Anarchist publications worldwide covered the story, and the International Workers Association and Spain's National Confederation of Labor sent $500 each to AL for legal fees.

The question of money is of special priority. Ifeanyi Nnajiofor, the AL's lawyer, must travel 1,000 kilometers from Lagos to Calabar, Nigeria. As of last December, the AL had a $12,000 debt for legal and other expenses. Ifeanyi is being extremely thoughtful and generous according to the AL, but his expenses are obvious and he must be paid. WSA and NENW-NYC know that over $1,000 has been received by AL from anarchists abroad and, since that helped keep Ifeanyi afloat, it's no exaggeration to claim that the international campaign played a part in AL's bail victory possibly saving the lives of these men -- (you don't get fed in Nigerian jails).

International Money Orders or U.K. Bank Checks can be mailed directly to: Awareness League, c/o Samuel Mbah, POB 28, Agbani, Enugu State, Nigeria. Foreign currency goes a long way now in Nigeria with $1 equalling a third of a month's wage -- and it costs a third of a month's wage to mail a letter out of Nigeria!! As a fundraising effort for AL, their communiques will be made available for a contribution sent to: NENW-NYC, 528 5th Street, Brooklyn, NY 11215, U.S. (Of course, AL's letters are in the public domain and are available for a dollar's worth of postage and xeroxing fee, but please try to send more.)

For more information: WSA, 339 Lafayette Street, Room 202, NY, NY 10012, U.S.
Telephone: (212) 979-8353.

ONE OF MANY STREET BATTLES IN ATHENS BETWEEN RIOT COPS + CITIZENS

ATHENS ANARCHIST REPORT

Special from Athens By Jimmy AWOL

After spending five months in Greece, a month in New York evading the Greek military, and again now in Athens, I would like to share with you some news from the political struggle here.

The political climate has shifted drastically to the right, ever since the last elections, where Mytsotakis (new democratic party) as president replaced Papandreou (P.A.S.O.K. socialist party). Greece however was never truly socialist; the PASOK party was really a capitalist front.

The new democratic party now in power is a far to the right police state. These in my opinion are the people who supported the junta of 1968, where a military martial law was imposed. This junta was supported by the U.S. Papadopoulos and his junta went to the streets with tanks and shot down demonstrators -- including the well-known incident where tanks stormed the Politechnico University (where activists historically retreat for immunity) -- and entered running down a gate full of demonstrating students. These are the type of people we are dealing with here. Mytsotakis is a supporter of monarchy and has said that aone day his son will be the king of Greece. He has also been seen pictured with some of his S.S. buddies.

Consequently, the climate, as you can imagine, has become a light tighter and in reaction a lot more heated. The government has also assaulted the people with tax increases and oppressive force. When first elected, Mytsotakis openly stated that the police are now the state and have ultimate authority. The police have now taken it upon themselves to harass and terrorize all subversive types. They use the war on drugs attitude (which is at least 10 times stricter than the U.S.) to lock up subversive people. Here you go to jail for one joint, and get beaten up in the process, which is standard.

The police have a special unit called M.A.T. (riot police) whose sole job is to go to demonstrations and beat people up -- demonstrators and passersby alike. I personally got harassed and kicked around for the sole crime of looking alternative, and simply walking down the street. Their clubs, which they love to use, are backed by the tactics of "pretrial holding" (which can mean months behind bars before you see a judge) and the policy of "guilty til proven innocent."

Another issue is that Greece is one of the few remaining European countries that does not recognise consciencious objector status. Military service is mandatory here for every male citizen, for approximately two years. At the present time, there are about 150 people in military prison for refusing to serve. There are also a few thousand in exile to escape this condition. I myself have to leave the country every four months to escape being inducted into the service, which I would certainly refuse to do. The penalty for refusing to serve on pacifistic, anarchistic or religious grounds is an initial prison sentence only to be followed by another hearing afterwards.

On the 15th of May, following a military style operation, the anarchist draft resister, Nikos Maziotis, was arrested and led to the military prison, Paulos Mela. Following the continuous postponements of his trial, he was eventually tried and sentenced on September 19, 1991 to one year of time or three years' probation. He violated and broke probation by getting arrested on October 9, 1992 by an unfortunate chance incident. After getting beaten up by the Pireus police, he was taken to the military prison of Thesaloniki where he is being held at the present time. He started a hunger strike on November 16, 1992.

Vardis Tsouris, also in prison for actions against the American military bases, started a hunger strike on October 30, 1992. (I don't know the outcome of this act.) It is also of interest to mention that the suicides within the military have taken on epidemic proportions. On the 20th of July, the anarchist, Nikos Papadimitriou, a few hours before being enlisted, committed suicide. Nikos did not go to the army because for many it is impossible to conform and submit to that which they have been opposing their whole lives. Suicide was Nikos' last tactic and he preferred to die rather than to conform.

Other anarchist news is that, on September 27, the state framed and arrested activists Skiftouli and Marinou. The arrest occurred during an alleged car theft, where a cabby eye-witness allegedly recognized these men as being two of the four men who held him up and stole his cab as a getaway vehicle during a "17 of November" action; this cabby reappearing as a mere coincidence. The "17 of November" is a well-known terrorist group which targets government supporters. They first appeared about fifteen years ago with the assassination of a C.I.A. agent. This group carries out violent actions against the state, and no one in this group has ever been caught. The state, having never arrested any of them, partly out of embarrassment, and partly in order to put away these old-time activists, set up this whole scenario. These men have nothing to do with the "17 of November" people. These activists are innocent. The true terrorist is the state and its tactics. After their arrest and beatings, they were held in "pre-trial holding" under the antiterrorist law 1916/90. The message of the state is clearly political terrorism against all activists. Through portraying anarchists as terrorists and their so-called war against it, the state is trying to undermine the movement. The fact, however, that the state is the true terrorist, not people opposing the tyranny, is becoming more and more apparent to people from all walks of life. This was clearly demonstrated at demos and riots where young and old, punks and students, joined in fighting off the M.A.T. (riot police).

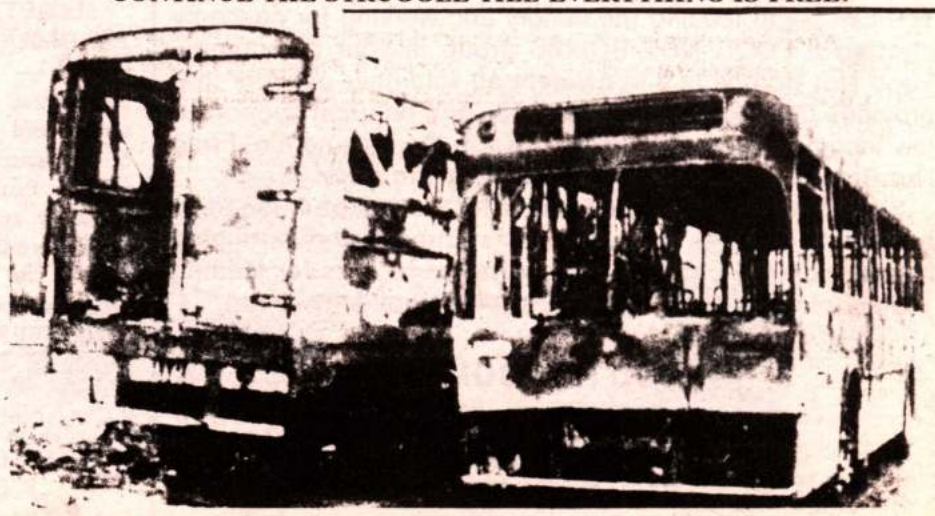
On November 16, a demonstration organised by "Anarchists Networking" in support of held activists, Mazioti, Skyftouli, Mazokopa and Tsouris, was attended by about 150 activists. The M.A.T. had practically shut off and sealed the entire center of the city. The M.A.T. proceeded to follow the demonstrators at provocatively close range. The march concluded at the Polytechnic, at which point anarchists attacked the M.A.T. with rocks and molotovs. The anarchists then broke through university security and stormed the enclosed university grounds taking them over as a fortress. (The Polytechnic is considered neutral ground and M.A.T. and other police are not permitted entrance.) They then proceeded to battle with the M.A.T. riot police for about an hour from the inside, using sling shots, rocks and molotov cocktails. At the end of this battling, the anarchists dispersed and there were no arrests.

Twelve days later, a police vehicle parked in car garage was arsoned by the anarchist Direct Action cell of "unarrested anarchists" in retaliation for arrested demonstrators during the Polytechnic demonstration. As of now, following a couple of months' holding, these anarchists have been released and are awaiting new trial dates.

Another issue that literally set Athens on fire was the bus drivers' strike. The state refusing to grant the E.A.S. (bus drivers) with adequate pay and benefits resulted in daily demonstrations and riots throughout the streets of the city. Thousands of workers took to the streets as well as anarchists and others in support of the working class struggle. These demonstrators clashed continuously with the M.A.T. as social unrest overtook the city for weeks. The government attempted to hire scabs to replace the striking workers, who had done a great job at nearly paralyzing the city and bringing it to a standstill. Buses are the main means of transportation here. Scab buses were constantly attacked and vandalised. Scabs were beaten up and stripped naked in the streets of Athens. This battle was eventually halted by the government declaring and making the buses private. Capitalism eventually undermined the struggle, but not before months of direct actions and social unrest.

This concludes the present update from the Athens, Greece, anarchist scene. I hope that this correspondence, as well as future ones to come, can bridge a network of communication and support for this international struggle fought on many fronts.

CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE TILL EVERYTHING IS FREE!



BURNT OUT BUSES IN ATHENS

THE ART & SCIENCE OF DUMPSTER DIVING

By John Hoffman (Loompanics Press; $12.95 - not cheap)

Reviewed by Stuart "Trashbrain" Frankel

Almost all Loompanics books are expensive -- which doesn't necessarily mean they're overpriced. The company publishes books on marginal topics such as assuming a new identity, playing nasty tricks on people you don't like, and all sorts of things which could be mistaken for illegal if they didn't print a boilerplate disavowal of such intentions at the beginning of their books.

Since they're the only publishers who print these things, and they do take a risk, they probably deserve some money. Still, their customers have a right to expect that they would insure that the books aren't total ripoffs.

THE ART AND SCIENCE OF DUMPSTER DIVING costs a hefty 13 bucks and is a scant 152 pages long. There'd have to be a *lot* of good info to make it worthwhile. I started off reading it rather warily.

I didn't feel reassured when the About The Author note at the beginning said that John Hoffman, the author, "recently embarked on a 'five year plan to self-sustaining wealth.'" The guy is definitely thinking money.

Then I hit page 8: "I'm writing this book to line my greedy pockets. And I'm going to spill the beans, all the beans, so I can make as much money as possible." This didn't sound like someone you'd trust to give you your money's worth.

I hadn't learned anything about dumpster diving by page 19, but I was definitely shaking my head. The homeless (Hoffman calls them "vagrants") are competition, but most of them are psychotic. You have to "look out for yourself and your kids, not people who live in cardboard boxes because they can't cope with the cold, hard universe."

By page 36, I had still learned nothing about dumpster diving. Hoffman said it's supposed to be an art and a science and it's fun and it's profitable. There were at least nine incredibly repetitious lists of things you can find in dumpsters. Blah blah blah. All fluff and padding.

By page 60, it became startlingly obvious that the book was hopeless. Hoffman gives instructions for intimidating homeless people so they don't get the food that you might be eyeing. Why would you want to do this? Because, "you're doing this to profit, but the other guy may be doing this to stay alive."

Hey, I thought dumpster diving was supposed to be fun. I wasn't having fun.

It turns out that there's actually not too much about dumpster diving in Hoffman's book. There's a lot of flabby, self-indulgent ranting about his philosophy of "greed is good." He mentions Ayn Rand twice, reverently, as if her polemics are holy writ. Hoffman stole all of his ideas, and some of his prose, from this largely forgotten icon of mediocrity. But he doesn't identify with Rand personally; he identifies with the cardboard heroes of her novels -- he even refers to himself as a "genius," one of Rand's key terms. It's a little mysterious why anyone would want to make a public display of such juvenile fantasies.

Hoffman's second-hand "philosophy" is extremely fragile. If you poke at it, it shatters. For example: Government is *bad* because it's coercive. Private property is *good* and corporations are *good* except when they collect sales tax for the government; then they become "traitors." (Traitors to what? The government and the corporations are Siamese twins!) Hoffman says he has set himself up as his own "government." But if government is bad and Hoffman is a government, that means ... oh, never mind.

The whole philosophical shtick is a pack of lies, though. Consider the following typical Hoffman encounter: After he had rescued dozens of burgers from a dumpster, his friend Rhoda suggests that he give some to the homeless who often raid the same dumpster. Hoffman responds, "Do they come knocking on my door offering to share with me?" He then calls her a "Marxist." Now, what would happen if a homeless person *did* knock on Hoffman's door and offer to share with him? Hoffman says that if people are stupid enough to give you something, you should just take it.

Deep down, Hoffman may know that his "philosophy" won't withstand scrutiny. That would explain the unpleasant amount of bluster in his book. Hoffman has created a fantasy world in which he wields all the power. He brags about his self-reliance, about the nasty tricks he's played on friends and enemies. His favorite occupation seems to be using pointed epithets to puncture people he disagrees with, and then retiring to the comfort of his VCR to watch Clint Eastwood movies.

All this adolescent macho is very dull. Perhaps in an attempt to liven the book up, or maybe he really thinks he is damaging people he doesn't like, Hoffman heaps all the scorn he can muster on anybody he wants to feel superior to, which is everybody. Of course, he can't keep his targets straight, and his vocabulary is rather limited, which is one reason the book is so boring.

His targets include: "Human parasites who run non-profit organizations" (pg. 113). "Charity for pathetic parasites" (which is anybody who needs charity; pg. 99). People who are too neat (he "despises" them on pg. 21). People who are too messy (he also "despises" them, also on pg. 21). People who make art from recycled trash ("sick people," pg. 116). People who don't make art from recycled trash ("insulting," pg. 138). People who recycle ("weepy, pathetic individuals," pg. 124). People who don't recycle ("they whine, self-righteously," pg. 124). (Well, maybe that last one, coming from the most self-righteous whiner I've read in a long time, wasn't meant to be an insult.)

The most striking thing about Hoffman's book is his (sadly misplaced) belief in his own self-worth. The book itself screams with evidence that he is merely delusional. he doesn't seem to have much to offer, and can build himself up only by standing on other people.

How did this happen?

I remember my grandparents, who grew up poor, cooing delightedly over fat babies and worrying that skinny ones didn't get enough to eat. For people who have not always had enough to eat, "fat" means "good." Several times, Hoffman tries to show that dumpster dining is good for you by saying that he eats so much he worries about getting fat.

(Hoffman can't even keep his delusions straight. On the one hand, he brags that he is well fed to the point of being fat, on the other he says "Only the lean and hungry shall survive." Actually, he gave this lean-and-hungry line in three different places --more padding. One of the places, weirdly enough, was just after he had explained how to maneuver food away from a welfare mother with five kids to feed. I assume that the kids and mom are lean and hungry; Hoffman is neither.)

Hoffman says that he grew up in "humiliating" poverty. (To judge from his pictures, he grew up ugly, too.) It seems he got dumped on as a kid, and now he's determined to beat society at its own game.

Unfortunately, he tries to have it both ways. He pictures himself as a rebel, but he's actually bought into the most conformist myths that this society has to offer, myths that are promulgated both by Hoffman's detested government and by his beloved private enterprise. Hoffman is a complete slave to the mass-market consumerist culture. He is obsessed with his possessions; the book starts with a recital of his *things*. And in an effort to justify himself to himself, he boasts, "I have a good job, a beautiful wife (!) and a nice apartment."

Who cares?

And whatever happened to dumpster diving? Hoffman says he has considerable experience here, although his claims are somewhat contradictory. He says he's a "third-generation dumpster diver"; actually, his grandmother learned it from his parents late in life, so that really makes him only second generation. Anyway, he does have a few good tips; not enough to fill a book or even a sheet of paper, but worth learning nonetheless.

Here they are:

Wear nondescript clothes (no distinctive logos, no military), thick-soled shoes. Bring a flashlight -- be sure not to shine it above the rim of the dumpster. Use a dive

Continued On Page 21

FOOD NOT BOMBS

You can begin feeding the hungry and working for peace by starting a FOOD NOT BOMBS group in your community. Food Not Bombs is a nonviolent all-volunteer network that provides free, hot vegetarian meals and political support to low income people in over 25 cities in North America. Food Not Bombs is *empowering, rewarding and FUN!*

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WANNA HEAR a WELL-KEPT SECRET?

The Match — an Anarchist journal — has been publishing for several geologic eons! Subscribe, and read the bellowings of dinosaurs like Fred Woodworth, Paul Roasberry, Kent Winslow and other stegosaurii. Amaze your friends. Be popular, as *the only one* on your block to read this *widely circulated*, EVER AMIABLE anarchist journal.

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BOOK REVIEW

stick such as a broom handle with a hook on the end or a collapsible radio antenna with one end bent up. Bring a gray Adidas bag for loot. To slice open garbage bags, pull them up by the *top* and slice around the *bottom* with a small blade such as a pocketknife. Good stuff is indicated by boxes sealed with tape, or intact food containers Lean into the dumpster by pivoting below your navel; don't climb in if you don't have to.

Dealing with people: ignore them. Even if they talk to you, just walk away. If a cop catches you, drop your stick quietly. Don't try to talk your way out, but recite a little speech if you have to: "Officer, sir, I respect your profession and wouldn't want you to think I'd break any laws. But I'm conscious of my civil liberties and my freedom as an American, and I don't wish to answer your questions." Then walk away.

Best spots: bakeries; supermarkets (discarded ice cream can be made into shakes, bloated cans are ok as long as they don't have any meat in them; if you're worried, feed it to your hogs; and if you get a staph infection, go to Mexico -- Hoffman lives in El Paso -- and get some antibiotics); bookstores; residential dumpsters ("when you find discarded mops and brooms, tear open every bag in the dumpster").

A lot of this doesn't help in New York. There are very few unsecured dumpsters in the city. Most of the dumpsters that I've dived are for demolition or construction work, so you get wood and stuff like that. It's hard to attract the attention of cops. (Since I take this review biz seriously, I yelled at a pair of cops who ambled by while I was investigating a dumpster full of old pipe and plaster -- I wanted to test out Hoffman's technique for dealing with them. One of them waved at me as they walked by.) Hoffman seriously recommends you have a car or truck for your loot; that rules out most New Yorkers. He also doesn't mention some prime places to dive, such as wholesale produce and floral markets. The long chapter on finding space to store things has nothing that anyone with a New York apartment doesn't know a hundred times over. And a lot of the food Hoffman picks up is good mostly to feed to animals on your farm. ("Don't allow your hogs to eat raw pork.")

Some of it is almost touchingly innocent, from the New Yorkers' point of view. Hoffman writes, "I've never seen a junkie's needle. My brother has found the actual junkies a few times." Wow! His derring-do brother has seen ACTUAL JUNKIES!

One other tip that is worthwhile: if you find cards for "more info" or suchlike in trade mags, fill them out and send them in. Just list your name and address on the card, nothing else. Sometimes they'll ignore you, sometimes they'll send free samples (his example of the General Mills butter substitute didn't sound too appealing, though), and you'll always get on mailing lists. Get on as many kinds of mailing lists as you can. This will confuse the Powers That Be by flooding them with false information about you. This is really a good idea, even if Hoffman identifies the bad guys as the government, and fails to recognize the reality that the big corporations are just as much of a threat to individual privacy.

There are some disgusting recipes for using dumpster-dived food. If you want to eat dumpster-dived food, you'd be better off picking up a Hare Krishna cookbook; anyone who's ever eaten their food has probably eaten dumpster-dived produce, and at least their stuff tastes good, unlike Hoffman's fastfood-burgers-and-macaroni casserole. (Except you might want to add garlic and onions; the Krishnoids don't use them for obscure religious reasons -- I know they're obscure because I've asked some Krishnoids, and they don't know either. They can go on forever about why they don't eat meat but the only reason they have for not eating onions and garlic is that their founder said not to.)

That's it. There's nothing else in the book, unless you enjoy watching a third-rate mind straining at its limits to come up with stuff like, "I believe that every expression of human beings is *art*."

So, Hoffman's book is a ripoff. AND EVEN THAT WOULDN'T MATTER -- if the book were a good read: reading, after all, is what you do with books. Ironically, Hoffman brags about graduating *magna cum laude* in English writing ("magna cum laude" means he got good grades). The irony is that the most interesting things in the book are the howlers he cranks out, such as: "Being irresponsible, first-time snake owners, their pets often perish." (I learned in 8th-grade that this kind of sentence contains a "misplaced modifier": the *pets* aren't first-time snake owners.) The best howler, unfortunately too long to quote here, is on page 65 where, running roughshod over the English language in his quest for bucks, Hoffman seems to indicate a desire to give his brother a blow job. (At least, I *hope* this was just inept writing.)

But aside from the howlers, the book is a bore. Even the Ace Backwards cartoons that head the chapters are tired and obviously churned out to order. The best cartoon is the cover, which features a dived copy of Screeching Weasel LIVE AT VEGAS. .

There. I've just saved you thirteen bucks. Meanwhile, Loompanics continues to publish and distribute books that push the limits of the First Amendment. They describe themselves as "the lunatic fringe of the the libertarian movement." Most bookstores or libraries won't carry their works, most magazines won't mention them.

The preface from one of their works is typical; it says, "... in this book we blow the lid off. From the latest medical information to the suppressed works of literary masters, from true case histories to fanciful drawings, this book lets it all out of the bag." That's from IT'S A GAS: A STUDY OF FLATULENCE ($9.95), my favorite except for the miasmatic puns.

Less entertaining, if more practical, are books on assassination techniques, lock picking, "tax avoision," self defense, and revenge. (A lot of the revenge books are written by the same person; I'd hate to get on HIS wrong side!) For those that want to drop out, there are large sections on changing identity, living in the underground economy, survival, and (if you get bored) sex. (The only sex book that sounds really off the wall is GENITOLOGY: READING THE GENITALS, which they describe as "the cream of research." They ask, "Men: Do you have the cock that all women love? Women: Will your pussy please the men in your life?" I'm not sure why men have to please all women but women just have to please certain men; in any event, there's not much you can do if your genitalia don't match the approved set.)

Some of my favorites: Adam Cash's GUERRILLA CAPITALISM ($14.95) and his two others books on the underground economy (don't know if this works, but it's fun to read about); Charles Long's HOW TO SURVIVE WITHOUT A SALARY ($12.95; all it takes is a simple mental adjustment); Tony Lesce's THE PRIVACY POACHERS: How the government and big corporations gather, use, and sell information about you (and what you can do about it, $16.95)); James Bamford's THE PUZZLE PALACE (the book that exposed the National Security Agency -- two acquaintances of mine, one of whom is mentioned briefly in the book, confirmed its accuracy as far as people and politics go; $10.95); M. Thomas Collins' COUNTERFEIT CURRENCY (wonder what would happen if you tried to buy a Loompanics book/w *your own* money; $15); Paul Spencer Wachtel and Jeffrey A McNeely's ECO-BLUFF YOUR WAY TO GREENISM ("The guide to instant environmental credibility ... this book laughs at issues that are too important to be taken too seriously"; $8.95).

There's a section on inventing your own reality, which I don't understand at all (but if I did, I wouldn't need the books), anarchy in theory, anarchy in practice, the "Anarchist's Guide to the BBS" (= computer Bulletin Board Systems; recommended by Phil Becker, head of eSoft and author of the TBBS BBS software, as "the worst book ever written on the subject"). There's enough books on guns and "might makes right" theory to soothe the most rabid artificial phallus worshipper. Bob Black's overrated works are here, as are several other much better books on the undesirability of work. Books by Kerry W. Thornley (co-founder of Discordianism), Hakim Bey (he recommends public book burnings -- why should rednecks have all the fun -- of things like the New York Times bestseller lists and schoolbooks). L.A. Rollins' LUCIFER'S LEXICON is a worthy successor to Ambrose Bierce's famous dictionary, compressing as much wisdom as possible (which is precious little) into epigrams ("ANTI-SEMITE - One who hates Jews; one who is hated by Jews"; "WANNSEE PROTOCOL - The Protocol of the Wise Men of Zyklon"; $6.95).

And then there are the essays and stories included in each catalog. The latest catalog has only six of these gems, but Loompanics has published a collection from their last few catalogs, under the title LOOMPANICS' GOLDEN RECORDS, and it's definitely worth checking out ($14.95). Some of the stories are neat in a skanky sort of way (like the surgeon who got grossed out and vomited into his patient); some are too disgusting to read. The coolest essay is on the outlaw GIs who roamed Europe during and after World War II, living by plunder. Also, check out The War Against Affordable Housing, the Holocaust survivor who urges all Jews to get guns, Energy Farming, and the pages of Ace Backwards cartoons. There are 41 goodies in all (including the stories by the convicted murderer that I couldn't read).

Here's how to save money. The Loompanics catalog is $5.00 (shipping included). But it's free if you get any of the books. (For the books, add $4 shipping for the first 3 books, $4 for 4 or more books). However, the catalog itself is more than worth the price.

LOOMPANICS, PO Box 1197, Port Townsend, WA 98368.

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THE 1990's WILL BE A TIME OF TREACHERY! OF IMPERIALISM DISGUISED AS HUMANITARIANISM+ INTERNATIONAL LAW

SETH TOBOCMAN

ZINE REVIEWS

By Stuart Frankel, Bill Weinberg + Chris Flash

THE ALARM -- "Voice of Northeast Earth First!" Far from buying into the racist eco-fascism which has infected some Earth First! efforts in the past, **The Alarm** makes the connections between the struggles for ecology/biodiverstiy and Indian land rights -- especially in their coverage of the fight against Hydro-Quebec's mammoth James Bay dam project. Also: critiques of biotech, reports on black bear, lynx and bald eagle reintroduction/habitat restoration efforts in Northeast Appalachia. A welcome effort $5/year "for activists" ($10 for others) from POB 804, Burlington, VT 05402 (B.W.)

ARM THE SPIRIT -- "For Revolutionary Resistance", this newsletter is very informative, with reports from the Puerto Rican independence struggle, updates on the Mohawk Warriors trials, an interview with Assata Shakur; but the ideological tone and uncritical pom-pom waving for the likes of the Red Army Faction gets a bit wearying. $12 for 10 issues--don't send a check, conceal the cash. c/o Wild Seed Press, POB 57584, Jackson Station, Ont. L8P 4X3, Canada (B.W.)

AUTO-FREE PRESS -- The bi-monthly publication of Transportation Alternatives Auto-Free New York Committee, dedicated to completely banning cars from Manhatten island -- "exploring the upper limit of devehicularization of the nation's largest city." Distributed as a free insert in the **City Cyclist**, *avialable at most bike shops*. Subs $20 from AFNY-TA, 494 Broadway, NYC 10012 (B.W.)

BLUE RYDER -- Advertises itself as THE BEST OF THE UNDERGROUND. It was free for a while, and the editor wrote a lot of reviews. Now it costs money and is mostly reprints from the "alternative press." The editor has taste -- no zine with NOFX on the cover can be all bad. The March-April ish has an article on what Elvis' family and Charles Manson have in common (for real), an interview with Phillip Agee, a real good ragging of John Lennon, some silly comix, and ads for the SHADOW and GG Allin. Sort of like the UTNE READER would be if it were much shorter, and much more interesting. $1.50 over the counter, $2 by mail, $8 for six issues. P.O. Box 587, Olean, NY 14760 (S.F.)

DIALOGUE -- "New Orleans' Progressive Community Journal," a worthwhile and serious endeavor with an arachist sensiblility and sense of adventure. The January/February ish features an excellent retrospective on New Orleans' 1973 shootout at the Downtown Howard Johnson, in which a young Black militant named Mark Essex was blown away by police. $5 "or other equivalent minimum"/year. from POB 71221, New Orleans, LA 70172 (B.W.)

ELEVENTH STREET RUSE -- A four-page mimeographed gentle deconstruction of meaning, published by the gentle Sparrow. Meditations, poems words, poems. "I hate violins because you / Need to take a stick and / Teach them to behave." "For each maxim, there is an equal and opposite maxim." There is wisdom here, for those who can find it, and there is soul for the rest of us. 1 or 2 dollars for 3 issues to 11TH ST. RUSE, 322 E. 11th St, New York, NY 10003 (Checks to "Ellen Carter) (S.F.)

FACTSHEET FIVE -- Back from the dead, again? FF is THE list of zines, it looks like about 33,258,305 (estimate) at least. After Mike Gunderloy's burnout, and the Hudson Luce disaster (one ish came out; it read like a self-parody), FF went semi-underground, with Jerod Pore (POPPIN' ZITS) publishing an electronic version via Internet. Now there's a hard copy again, with ex-New Yorker Seth Friedman at the helm. He's easing into this monumental project nice and slow, with some reprinted lists from other zines (Queer Zine Explosion, Maximum Rock & Roll), and without the columns & toons that enlivened Mike's zine. Here's hoping he makes it. $4 sample ish ($6 first class), $20 for 6 issues, $40 first class. P.O. Box 170099, San Francisco, CA 94117 (S.F.)

GREEN ANARCHIST -- With a subtitle of "For a Free Society in Harmony with Nature," you might think this rag a simple-minded exercise in mistypoo utopianism. Not so. Reports on monkey-wrenching and eco-sabotage in Europe, squatting struggles in Germany, etc. While one article rightly describes how "Techonocracy is Tyranny," another warns of "Eco-Fascism in the Green Movement." Action-oriented and politically sharp. Box H, 34 Crowley Rd., Oxford, UK (B.W.)

GROUNDWORK -- An excellent networking resource for activists nationwide, with informative reports on environmental, health, community and Native American struggles from across the country. Last ish includes stories on the Nevada Test Site anti-nuke actions, needle exchange in NYC, art and resistance in the AIDS crisis, and extensive reports on the ongoing effort to build a US Green movement. $20/year. (Bulk available for $1 each), checks payable to Tides Foundation, POB 14141, San Francisco, CA 94114 (B.W.)

HOG CALLINGS -- "All the News that's Fit for Pigs." You guessed it -- the newsletter of Wavy Gravy's Hog Farm commune. Charts the adventures of the intrepid Hog Farmers at anti-nuke actions at the Nevada Test Site, etc. 1301 Henry St., Berkeley, CA 94709 (B.W.)

IRON FEATHER JOURNAL -- Techno anarchic monkey-wrenching phor phun. Definitely cooler'n a penguin's ass. Kaotick layout, lotsa internet addresses (awl the righters have them, so they'r probly students or @ least scamming the local U), BBS #s, how to build a smoke bomb, technoid record revyooz, how to build a small tv transmitter easily (I noe this werks b cawz a phrend of myne did it - without the amplifier - and broadcast porn movies to a couple blocks radius in Queens for a phew weeks), hacking cable tv. Ok, sum of their ideas of phun are a little nerdy (like there's 2 pgs of ANSI code labeled ANSI PHUN PHILE; probably ur supposed 2 gorge urselph on twinkies [tm] & type the codz in2 ur compewter while the suger rush lasts, but programming in native ANSI code iz not phun (NOT PHUN, guize!); phor God so loved the world He begot ANSI code generators; wise up, dudes, believe and be saved b4 the sugar crash). I got number 12. I don't no when it's from cawz I just picked it up @ the SHADOW offices, but I'm gonna get more. $2 from P.O. Box 1905, Boulder, CO 80306. (S.F.)

JERSEY BEAT -- Easily the best of the local totally music zines (the best of the local *mostly* totally music zines are Hot Poop and Sweet Jesus). If it weren't so long, I would have read through the whole thing AGAIN when I picked it up to flip through for this review, and then would have missed the deadline and you wouldn't be reading this. The neat thing is not that editor Jim Testa has been zeening for over 10 years or that he comes up with something interesting to say about every damn thing he talks about or that he's got a bunch of writers who are just as good as he is, but that the whole production looks so effortless and natural. Issue 48's got words of wisdom on the "we're-signed-with-a-major-label syndrome," and how it reflects poorly on the bands (right; who gives a shit about what the record companies think?), interviews with EMF, Down By Law, Ween (victims of the SYNDROME), tons of reviews, band diaries, the works. This is the only zine where I regularly read reviews of bands I haven't heard of. $2 from 418 Gregory Ave, Weehawken, NY 07087. Or locally from See/Hear (59 E 7th St) or Reconstruction Records (216 E 6th St). If the rumor that Jim is about to retire to build ice-fishing huts in Pago Pago is true, we're in for a dry spell. (S.F.)

LIES OF OUR TIMES -- A wonderful source for correcting the beady-eyed conservative bias in the major media, especially in the New York Times, hence their name. Published by the folks behind Covert Action Information Bulletin, recent issues have Noam Chomsky on Haiti, The TIMES' detoxification of dioxin, Alger Hiss, the Somali invasion, and much more. Single issues are $3, or $24/year from Sheridan Square Press, 145 West 4th St, New York, NY 10012. (They need your support, and their work is very important, so please subscribe.)(S.F.)

MIM NOTES -- "The official Newsletter of the Maoist Internationalist Movement." Well, it looks like the good ol' Revolutionary Communist Party has got some competition as America's foremost fanatical Maoist sect. Not nearly as slick but even more fanatical than the RCP, the MIM is so obsessed with ultra-militant pretensions that their contributors write under pseudonyms like "MC12" and "MC86", conveying the impression of a hardened cadre (shades of Pol Pot's "Brother Number One"). White boy revolutionary wannabees with a neurotic need to be guilt-tripped by relentlessly shrill rhetoric with all the subtley of a sledgehammer should really get off on this one. Strictly for masochists. Subs $12/year, from POB 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576 (B.W.)

MONGOLIAN BIKERS FROM NORTH AFRICAN KOREA -- Photocopied on that slimy paper that makes your hands taste awful. On the back, the editor wrote some nice stuff about the SHADOW but it's hard to read. He manages to mention his penis on just about every page, which after a while gets tiresome. (Doesn't he have any balls?) The cartoons are awful (I like them, though). There are some longish (1 page, typed) pieces in the back, one on his idea of a fuck club, and another signed by "a fellow human being," which is photocopied too light to read, but certainly doesn't make too many assumptions about his readership. The zine is bimonthly from 3570 St John's Lane #102-228, Ellicott City, MD 21042, for 2 stamps and 2 quarters per issue, or $1 and 4 stamps for a 3-issue subscription. Don't lick your fingers when you turn the pages. (S.F.)

PRISON NEWS SERVICE -- Produced by Toronto's extremely dedicated and hardcore Bulldozer collective, this newsletter is indispensible as a networking tool for anarchists and other radicals involved in support work for friends, colleagues and loved ones behind bars. In addition to updates on Leonard Peltier and other political prisoners in North America, the November/December 1992 ish features stories on the special predicaments of prisoners who are HIV-positive or "mentally ill". Free for prisoners, $10/year for others, from PSC Publishers, POB 5052, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1W4, Canada (B.W.)

THE REALIST -- It's a whole other world out there. LA, that is. A brilliant, brilliant analysis of Dan/Marilyn Quayle's comments on their daughter's hypothetical pregnancy leads seamlessly into a fantasy of sex with Bush's former life insurance (Marilyn wouldn't let him muff dive); a sex-show worker makes the tv talk-show circuit; Clinton's cocaine connection; weird stuff from the media (the baby Jesus discovers his penis); a transcribed telephone conversation between J. Edgar "Mary" Hoover, Clyde "Sweetie" Tolson and mobster Frank Costello. Some of this is real and some tragic and some funny. This zine, created by Yippie co-founder Paul Krassner, has been going since 1958 and doesn't show any signs of settling down. Good for them. $2 each; $23 for 12 issues. P.O. Box 1230, Venice, CA 90294. (S.F.)

REVOLUTIONARY TOKER -- The official newsletter of the Green Panthers. Essential activist news by the activists making the news they report. These people go beyond their militant actions in support of marijuana decriminalization to include raids of drug war boot camps, disrupting auctions of property seized in drug raids, exposing and demonstrating at the headquarters of News Election Service (owned and operated jointly by the major mainstream media to collect and report election results, in effect allowing them to control the outcome of major elections), and publishing a list of 800 numbers of corporate earth polluters and drug war suppliers for free telephone zapping. These are very dedicated people who deserve our support. $15/year, $20/year membership includes newsletter and action manual. Cash or M.O.s or checks with "pay to" left blank to Green Panthers! P.O.Box 9845, Washington, DC 20016. (C.F.)

SHIP OF FOOLS -- This rag may be produced by Deadheads, but they are gutsy anarchist Deadheads. Reports on police abuse and chilling reprints of sadistic "joke" t-shirts available for cops through cop trade publications; reports on Indian water struggles in Canada, marijuana legalization struggles, anti-nuclear resistance, etc. **Ship of Fools** is in dire financial straits at the moment, their offices having suffered a marijuana bust recently, which resulted in computers being confiscated by authorities. Send any contributions to POB 2062, Westminster, MD 21158. (B.W.)

SPAZ -- "If you can't afford the $2.00, STEAL THIS ZINE!!!" it says on the front cover of the premier ish of this funky little xerox rag. Given the lack of content in this unfocused effort, you might consider stealing it even if you can afford the two bucks. The high point is an interview with police brutality survivors from the Tompkins Square battles, but most of the pages are filled with self-consciously bad xerox art and nihilist poetry ("Death waits at your anal doorstep"). These guys have got the right spirit but leave a little something to be desired in coherence and creativity. I would pass along their address for those interested to offer their talents and help make the second ish (if there is one) more worth while, but **Spaz** reports that "we don't have a PO box yet..." Oh well. (B.W.)

STEAL THE FIRE -- "A Journal of Desire Armed," this rag is fast becoming **the** North American anarchist publication, much as Vancouver's **Open Road** had been before it's demise. The section on international anarchist news is right on target, as are the unparalled zine reviews. But the self-consciously infantile glorification of "going feral" is stricty kid's stuff. And speaking of kid's stuff, if you're interested in libertarian debates on the ethics of pedophilia, you've come to the right place. $12/year from Columbia Anarchist League, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446 (B.W.)

STORM WARNING! -- Beware! This is the newsletter of "Vietnam Veterans Against the War-Anti-Imperialist," which (unlike the legitimate VVAW) is a front for the Maoist RCP cult. This is one of the RCP's soft-sell front publications, designed to suck in neophytes. The uncritical pom-pom waving for the Shining Path should clue in even the uninitiated. POB 95172, Seattle, WA 98145-1342 (B.W.)

SUBCONSCIOUS SOUP -- "The magazine of free thought and the counter-culture" has plenty of hemp news, comics, poetry, reviews, and psychedelic artwork, often by well-known artists in special guest appearances. $2 + 2 stamps/copy, $10/year. P.O.Box 421272, Kissimmee, FL 34742. (Checks made payable to "Scott Clark") (C.F.)

TURNING THE TIDE -- The newsletter of People Against Racist Terror (PART); dead serious, uncompromising and politically sharp. Excellent exposes and analysis of skinhead/Klan/Nazi infiltration of police, prisons, documentation on the upsurge in hate from Southern California to Germany, interesting dialogue on Zionism and racism. PART also has research reports available on "Bo" Gritz and his Populist Pary ("Front Man for Fascism?"), the federal response to last year's Los Angelas rebellion, etc. $6/"sponsorship" from POB 1990, Burbank, CA 91507 (B.W.)

ANNOUNCEMENTS.....

EXCHANGE YOUR USED NEEDLES for new ones. Bleach kits, condoms and other supplies FREE. At the Lower East Side Needle Exchange, 39 Avenue C (between 3rd + 4th Streets). Wed.+ Sat: 11:00AM-2:00PM, Fri: 7:00-10:00PM. For info, call (212)228-7734.

RADICAL WOMEN, an international socialist feminist organization, presents feminist events and discussions on a regular basis, and an anti-war coffee house on Friday night, 7:00-10:00, for free or low cost. For info, write or visit 32 Union Sq. East, NYC 10003, or call (212)677-7002, or 491-5163.

HOUSING NOW! HOTLINE: For up to date news on housing, events, legislation, etc. Call (212)316-7544.

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PORNOGRAPHY SALE. Ex-porn collector selling hundreds of mags + videos. Nothing over $10.00. Sorry, no real sick, depraved or illegal stuff. Send stamp for list. David, 29½ Morton St. #3A, New York, NY 10014.

ANARCHIST YOUTH FEDERATION. The only way to achieve anything is to unite! Write for info, literature, distribution, etc. AYF (NW Ohio Chapter), 5533 CR 37, Rawson, OH 45881.

AERIK!! We lost your address!! Please write us back!!

NEED TO FIND COMMUNITY where people actually feel, actually remember the isolated aspect of hope, but willing to destroy the machine's deafening blur of loss. Please write, Chantelle, 305 Hillview Lane, Rochester Hills, MI 48306.

YOUNG SPANISH MAN SEEKING FRIENDSHIP. Someone to share thoughts with? Manuel Colina #108602, F.S.P., P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091

WHITE MALE, 32, SEEKS CORRESPONDENCE from sexy white gal. Need a friend? Pick up á pen and write James Collins #E-81393, Housing 2-A-21, P.O. Box W, Represa, CA 95671.

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TREE....call Cosmo regarding illustrations for poetry. 471-6300.

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